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THE  
THEOLOGICAL  
WORKS  
OF  
THE REV. CHARLES LESLIE.





THE  
THEOLOGICAL  
WORKS  
OF  
THE REV. CHARLES LESLIE.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

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*The years of Christ in which those Ante-Nicene Fathers flourished, whom I have quoted in the Dialogues, and the editions, that you mistake not where I have quoted the page: and if any other edition happens to be quoted, the edition is told.*

## A. D.

S. Barnabas the Apostle . . . . .	—	Oxon. 1685.
S. Ignatius . . . . .	101	{ Usher's edit. Oxon. 1644. Gr. Lat. Is. Voss. edit. Lond. 1680. Gr. Lat.
S. Justinus Martyr . . . . .	140	Paris. 1636. Gr. Lat.
S. Irenæus . . . . .	167	Paris. 1639.
Clemens Alexandrinus . . . . .	192	Paris. 1641. Gr. Lat.
Tertullianus . . . . .	192	Paris. 1664.
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THE  
SOCINIAN CONTROVERSY

DISCUSSED,

IN

SIX DIALOGUES:

WHEREIN THE CHIEF OF THE SOCINIAN TRACTS, PUBLISHED  
OF LATE YEARS, ARE CONSIDERED.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A DEFENCE

OF THE

FIRST AND LAST DIALOGUES

RELATING TO THE

SATISFACTION OF JESUS CHRIST.



*The Word was God, John i. 1.*

*The Word was made Flesh, ver. 14.*

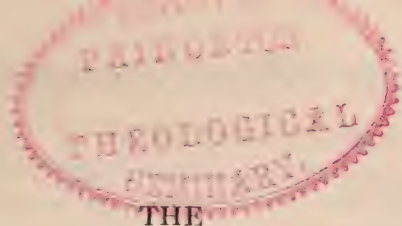
*The Lord is that Spirit, 2 Cor. iii. 17.*

*Baptizing in the name of the Father, and of the Son,  
and of the Holy Ghost, Matt. xxviii. 19.*

*And these Three are One, 1 John v. 7.*







## PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

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THE learned author of these Dialogues, &c. (as the late very reverend dean of Worcester observed<sup>a</sup> of him some years ago) being “well known among us for his excellent “writings against Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Quakers, “Erastians, and Latitudinarians, for which he will never “be forgotten;” since when he has also writ against the Papists; “and no man since the time of archbishop Laud, “and bishop Moreton,” (as that venerable writer adds, “not for his praise,” says he, “for that is due to God, but “to set forth his felicity,”) having “had his labours blessed “with such success, or made so many converts from error “to truth, and from no principles to principles, and so considerable among their several parties as he;” the public having so much interest in this author, and he being unhappily removed from, and as it were dead to us, though yet on this side heaven; it has been much wished that his works might be collected and published together; seeing they are of such use, and many of them now out of print. Nor has this been only desired, but designed, as a very proper antidote, against that general dissolution of principles which all good men lament in this age; and for the encouragement of so beneficial a design we have here subjoined a catalogue of his theological works:

The Snake in the Grass, in three parts.

Satan disrobed from his Disguise of Light.

<sup>a</sup> Preface to his first volume of Controversial Letters, first published an. 1705.

A Discourse of Water-Baptism.

A Discourse shewing who are qualified to administer the Sacraments.

The Primitive Heresy of the Quakers.

The Present State of Quakerism.

Reflections on the Quakers' Protest.

The Quakers' Sayings, under several Heads.

The divine Right of Tithes.

A Short Method with the Deists and Jews.

The Socinian Controversy discussed.

A Sermon against Marriages in different Communions.

The Case of the Regale and Pontificate.

The Truth of Christianity demonstrated.

The Case stated in a Dialogue between the Churches of Rome and England, &c.

The History of Sin and Heresy.

But because the best purposes are too often delayed in the execution, and there may be danger that this I speak of should not be executed so soon as were to be wished; and because of all the errors and heresies this learned author has wrote against, that of the Arians and Socinians seems to be now the most predominant, I presumed that I could not do either more justice to him in his absence, or greater service to the church, than to publish anew his Socinian Controversy Discussed, wherein as the chief tracts are considered, which (at the time of his writing it) had been here lately printed by those heretics; so there is little they have put out since, but is in great measure obviated, and their cause so baffled, that if it had not had other supports than what their weak pretences to reasoning afford, we might have hoped it would have silenced them, at least, if it had not been attended with the same glorious success as his Short Method with the Deists; which convinced one<sup>b</sup> of their most celebrated writers, and persuaded him not

<sup>b</sup> C. Gildon, gent. publisher of the Oracles of Reason.

only to make a public retraction of his error, but to write<sup>c</sup> against it in defence of the truth.

Instead of this, so much does interest outweigh reason, and such power there is in the favour and countenance of a few great men, that not only some Remarks, as they called them, were soon published upon the first and last of these Dialogues, and a pretended Vindication of those on the first, which are all here answered ; but, from one degree of effrontery to another, these irreconcilable enemies of the Christian religion are at last grown so hardy, as to declare openly and barefaced against the divinity of Jesus Christ, and no longer steal into the world their scandalous libels against the Son of God, but usher in their public entry with the pomp of repeated advertisements, and all this in order to arraign the very Object of our worship, though in so doing they accuse of the grossest idolatry, not us only, whom they delight to calumniate, but even themselves, as worshipping what they contend to be a mere creature, instead of the Creator of heaven and earth.

And herein it may not be improper to observe how they imitate their dear brethren the dissenters ; amongst whom, it seems, they have no inconsiderable party ; for Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek, sectaries of all denominations, unite against the church, as Herod and Pontius Pilate did against our Saviour ; and now speak out, and boldly tell the world they will no longer be tied up to the doctrine of the Trinity ; witness the Case of the Ejected Ministers (as they call themselves) at Exon, and the Account of the Proceedings at Salter's-hall, &c. And to add to the malice, the Socinians imitate the dissenters in copying from the papists, though the greatest part of their religion consists in railing against them. And they copy from them in undermining the very foundations of their own worship,

<sup>c</sup> The Deist's Manual, or a Rational Inquiry into the Christian Religion, with some Considerations on Mr. Hobs's Spinosia, the Oracles of Reason, Second Thoughts, &c. 8vo.

the more effectually to destroy ours; for the papists in defence of their darling doctrine of transubstantiation, to account for the many palpable contradictions most justly charged upon it, make no scruple to resolve all the difficulty into this: that that doctrine is a mystery, and upon that account unintelligible to our weak understanding. And to support this argument, they are not afraid to put a senseless invention of their own upon the level with the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity itself, and to compare what our narrow capacities are unable to comprehend in the most tremendous mystery of a trinity of Persons in the unity of the Godhead, and what is unintelligible therein, not in its own nature, but only in respect of the weakness of our understanding; to compare, I say, what is thus properly mysterious in the Trinity to that which in their doctrine of transubstantiation is not mystery, but nonsense and contradiction, unintelligible in itself, and our not comprehending it so little chargeable on any defect in our intellectuals, that if we had the understanding of angels we should be no more able to comprehend it than to reconcile the grossest contradictions!

For (to pursue the argument a little further, as not foreign to this controversy, and give a full answer to that plausible objection against the Trinity, contained in this defence of transubstantiation) a *mystery*, in the proper notion of the word, is something hid from us, which our short sight cannot perceive, nor our narrow capacities comprehend; something, though not against our reason, yet so far above it, that through the weakness of our intellects we are not able to understand it. Now to apply this to the case before us, that we cannot conceive how the body of Christ can be at the same time at the right hand of God the Father in heaven, and yet with us upon earth, even in ten thousand different places at once, and that really, truly, and substantially, as the council of Trent declares, this (to mention no more of the absurdities of transubstantiation) is



so far from any defect in our understandings, any weakness in the eyes of our minds, that we very clearly see that this cannot be, and have a most distinct perception that it is absolutely impossible; and it is only an impropriety in our manner of expression, to say, we are not able to conceive how that thing can be, which we evidently perceive cannot be, or to ascribe that to any defect in us, which is wholly owing to the nature of the thing itself: it is not we that are incapable to conceive, but the thing that is not capable of being conceived.

When we charge the incapacity upon ourselves, we might as well say that our arms are too short to reach from any height a thing that is not there, and our eyes too weak to see it; whereas if we could reach up to the moon, and see into the third heavens, we should be never the more able, either to see or reach what actually is not there; nor could even an infinite understanding comprehend what is in its own nature incomprehensible, and is clearly perceived to be so by our finite understanding, weak and imperfect as it is; for would not this be altering the very nature of things, and by the extent of our knowledge making that to be true which in its own nature is false? It is possible to imagine, that any degree of understanding can be sufficient to discover things to be otherwise than they really are in their own nature; a part, for instance, to be equal to the whole, any thing to be and not to be, to be true and false at the same time; and that there is not the least absurdity in any other contradiction. It is not the abundance, but the want of knowledge that occasions such misrepresentations; and to see things as they are not, is not owing to the clearness, but the dimness of our sight.

We know it is no impeachment even to the omnipotence of God, that, almighty as he most certainly is, yet he cannot lie, or change, or do any thing else against his nature. The impossibility is not in him, to whom all things are possible, but in the things themselves; and it is so far from



any defect in his power, that the contrary, if it were possible, would be only an argument of weakness: what may induce ignorant persons to think otherwise, is our improper way of expressing it; whereas, instead of saying that God cannot lie or change, who certainly can do every thing that omnipotence can do, we ought rather to say that it is a thing impossible in the very notion of it that he should do either; that it is absolutely repugnant to the divine nature, and implies a manifest contradiction. And as that must be impossible to omnipotence itself, which is impossible in its own nature, since no degree of power can alter the nature of things, or enable God to do that which cannot be done; so, the nature of things being equally unalterable to any degree of knowledge, what in its own nature is unintelligible, must be so also, not only to our finite understandings, but even to the divine intellect.

Such are those numerous contradictions implied in the doctrine of transubstantiation; whereas what is objected against that of the Trinity (as our author shews in his Preface to this work) is no contradiction, but only a difficulty, which our weak understandings can neither conceive nor explain; and being thus hidden from us (as no wonder many things in the divine nature should be) is on that account properly a mystery, not contrary to our reason, but above it. For instance, that God should be one and three in the same respect, were a flat contradiction, which no degree of knowledge could fathom or reconcile, and which therefore could not be said to be above our reason, because it is manifestly against it. But that the three Persons in the Godhead should be but one and the same nature, that is, both one and three in different respects; one in respect of the divine nature common to them all, and three in respect of their personality distinguishing each; though our finite understandings cannot comprehend or explain this, (and what is there in the infinite nature of God which we can fully comprehend?) yet, dim as the eyes of our weak

intellects are, we can plainly perceive that there is no contradiction therein, and that it is owing only to the shortness of our sight that we cannot see clearly into it. We know it is no contradiction, that (I don't say three, but even) a multitude of men should make but one society, one army, one people; that is, be both one and a multitude in different respects: nor therefore can it imply any contradiction, that God likewise in different respects should be both one and three; the only difficulty is, so to explain this mystery of a trinity of persons in the unity of the Godhead, as neither to confound the persons nor divide the substance; but it is one thing to understand any point so fully as to be able to explain it, and another to see that there is no absurdity in it, though it be too difficult for our shallow capacities to comprehend.

The case is much the same here as it is with mariners out at sea; where they are not able to fathom the deep, because their sounding-line is too short, they are wont to say there is no bottom; whereas, in reality, the only defect is, not of bottom, but of line to reach it: and as in that case their not being able to find ground, is so far from proving there is none, that, at the same time they cannot sound it, they can evince by undoubted arguments that there must be some; so here, our inability to comprehend the mystery of three persons in one Divine nature is so far from being an argument against the Trinity, or a proof that there is any absurdity in it, that, at the same time that we find ourselves unable to explain it, we can both produce manifest proofs of it from God's word, and clearly perceive, that difficult as it is, and out of the reach of our narrow capacities, yet there is nothing in it repugnant to reason, or that implies a contradiction.

To use the words of bishop Stillingfleet<sup>d</sup> upon this argu-

<sup>d</sup> The Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation compared as to Scripture, Reason, and Tradition, in a new Dialogue between a Protestant and a Papist. The second part, p. 24, 25.

ment, “ We do not say, (in asserting the Trinity in Unity,) “ that three persons are but one person, or that one nature “ is three natures; but that there are three persons in one “ nature. If therefore one individual nature be communi- “ cable to three persons, there is no appearance of absurdity “ in this doctrine. And on the other side, it will be impos- “ sible there should be three Gods, where there is one and “ the same individual nature; for three Gods must have “ three several divine natures, since it is the divine essence “ that makes a God.” The difficulty is to apprehend the manner of this communication of the same nature to three distinct persons; but to argue from thence, that the thing itself is impossible, is as senseless as to maintain that there is no sun in the firmament, because our arms are not long enough to reach it. There are ten thousand things, even in created nature, out of the reach, not only of our arms, but of our understandings. Indeed our intellect is so very much bounded, that there is little even in this sublunary world of which we have an adequate comprehension. What wonder then, if in the infinite nature of God there be something which we cannot conceive, I may say, if there be nothing which we can? for his eternity, his omnipresence, and all his other essential attributes, are as much beyond our conception, even as the trinity of persons in the unity of his nature: therefore to prove this impossible, it is not enough to shew that we cannot conceive the manner of it, (for that would be as good an argument that there is no God, as that there is no Trinity,) but you must first prove (as the same learned bishop says<sup>e</sup>) “ that the divine infinite “ nature can communicate itself no otherwise than a finite “ individual nature can: for all acknowledge the same com- “ mon nature may be communicated to three persons; and “ so the whole controversy rests on this single point, as to

<sup>e</sup> The Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation compared, &c. the first part, p. 7.



“reason, whether the divine nature and persons are to be “judged and measured as human nature and persons are.” It is agreed on all hands, that there is a difference between nature and person; but what is the principle of individuation, even in created beings, which, for instance, discriminates the human nature in one man from the same human nature in another, and thereby distinguishes their persons, is very hard to resolve, and therefore may well be incomprehensible in a Being whose nature and perfections infinitely surpass the bounds of our narrow capacities.

And the same infinity of the divine nature, which renders the manner of its communicating itself unintelligible to our weak understanding, may induce us to “think it unreasonable” (as the same great author argues<sup>f</sup>) “that it “should be so bounded as to the manner of that, as the “nature of man is. Every individual man” (as he pursues the argument) “has not only individual properties, that is, “the common nature of man, limited by some unaccountable principles, that doth make him different from all “other men, having the same nature with himself. The “difficulty then does not lie in a community of nature, and “a distinction of persons, for that is granted amongst men; “but in the unity of nature with the difference of persons. “And supposing the divine nature to be infinite in its perfection, I do not see,” says he, “how it is capable of “being bounded, as the common nature of man in individuals is; and if it be not capable of being bounded “and limited, it must diffuse itself into all the Persons “in the same individual manner; and so” (as he concludes) “this doctrine of the Trinity is not repugnant to “reason.”

And yet as much difference as there is betwixt this incomprehensible mystery, and the manifold absurdities of transubstantiation; though the former is the very object of

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. second part, p. 29.

our common worship, the basis and foundation of the Christian religion, and that into which we are all baptized; yet the papists are so fond of the latter, that they are not afraid, as I have observed, to put both upon the same level; and, to excuse the gross absurdity and contradiction of their pretended mystery of transubstantiation, dare to involve the real and tremendous mystery of the Trinity in the same accusation of contradiction and absurdity; but that, as we have seen, with so little show of reason, as only to betray the slight regard they have for the most fundamental doctrine of our common Christianity, and give occasion to suspect that their design is not so much to defend the doctrine of transubstantiation, as to undermine that of the Trinity. I do not say they design this: I cannot but hope better of them, from what many of their authors have wrote with great strength in defence of the Trinity; but such is their zeal for a modern ridiculous doctrine of their own, that nothing must stand in competition with it: they leave no stone unturned to establish it, though it be on the ruins of our common faith; and in a Dialogue published in king James the Second's reign, between a new Catholic Convert and a Protestant, they undertook "to prove the "mystery of the Trinity to be as absurd a doctrine as "transubstantiation; thereby exposing the most venerable "mystery of our holy religion" (as the learned answerer of that Dialogue justly complains, p. 2.) "to the scorn and "derision of infidels and heretics."

He might have instanced particularly in the Deists and Socinians, who, with all their clamours against popery, condescend to use popish arguments against us, and with the same spirit of opposition wherewith the papists venture the undermining of our common religion to maintain their own, these libertines and freethinkers involve themselves in that very charge of idolatry, to which they would render us obnoxious, by robbing the Object of our worship of his divinity, and seem unconcerned what they worship them-



selves, if they can but prove that what we worship is no God.

But I shall leave my author to confute them, and conclude this Preface with my earnest prayers for their conversion, that at last the infinite mercy of the Son of God may convince them that he is more than man, and their own happy experience that he is almighty to save, extort from them an acknowledgment of his divinity.

“O merciful God, who hast made all men, and hatest  
“nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a  
“sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live;  
“have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics,  
“and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and  
“contempt of thy word; and so fetch them home, blessed  
“Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the  
“remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold  
“under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth  
“and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God,  
“world without end.” Amen.

# THE

## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

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THE importance of the Socinian controversy shews itself, and needs no words to enforce it. It is no less, than whether what we worship is God or a creature; whether we adore the true or false God, and are the grossest idolaters in the world.

I wish there had been no occasion of reviving this controversy, which of a long time has lain asleep among us. But of late years these Socinians, under the name of Unitarians, have appeared with great boldness, and have not only filled the nation with their numerous pamphlets, printed upon a public stock, and given away gratis among the people, whereby many have been deluded; but they have arrived to that pitch of assurance, as to set up public meetings in our halls in London, where some preach to them who have been spewed out even by the presbyterians for their Socinianism.

It is told in the Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, that he designed to have a public meeting-place set up in London for the Unitarians; and now we see it accomplished, and their standard set up!

These things have made it necessary to appear in defence of the Christian faith, that it be not lost among us; and to give some check to these Socinian pamphlets, which swarm through this city especially.

Instead of enlarging in a preface, I will here present the reader with a rarity, which I take to be so, because of the difficulty I had to obtain it; it is the following Address or

Epistle of our Unitarians to the Morocco ambassador: and the Latin treatise mentioned in it (of which likewise I have a copy) I have seen in print here in London, to shew the diligence of the party. I know not if it is publicly sold, for I only saw it in a private hand.

I have likewise added two Letters upon this subject, one wrote in the year 1694, the other in 1697, which may serve as a compendium of what is at large treated of in these Dialogues, and sums up the merit of the cause in a few words; which will help the memory, and serve for a ready answer to Socinians in discourse, that may not be at hand to give, when it is to be collected out of a larger volume.

I desire the reader to consider what account the Unitarians give of Mahomet, and his great judgment, in their following Address to the ambassador, to whom they say, that “ God hath raised your Mahomet to defend the faith  
“ with the sword, as a scourge on the idolizing Christians :  
“ and we, for the vindication of your lawmaker’s glory,  
“ strive to prove, that such faults and irregularities (not  
“ cohering with the fashion of the rest of the Alcoran  
“ building, nor with the undoubted sayings of your pro-  
“ phet) were foisted into the scattered papers found after  
“ Mahomet’s death: and we do endeavour to clear by  
“ whom, and in what time, such alterations were made in  
“ the first setting out of the Alcoran.”

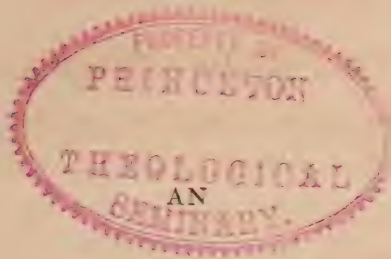
This is like the vindication which they make for the holy scriptures of God, that many things were foisted in, which they do not like, as they frequently answer in their pamphlets, particularly as to the writings of St. John, all of whose authority they strike at, because they make most against them. So that by the same *salvo* the Alcoran is vindicated and the scriptures; and Mahomet is here said to be raised up by God, to scourge the idolizing Christians, and the Alcoran, to preserve the true faith: and they say in the same place, that “ Mahomet would have himself to  
“ be but a preacher of the gospel of Christ.” Such a

preacher indeed as our Unitarians; and they say truly to the ambassador, "We your fellow champions for the truth."

And they have since carried on the same argument in their late writings, of preferring Mahometism to Christianity, as you will see in the second Letter, sect. II; nay, that they esteem even paganism as preferable to the Christian doctrine. And yet they take it ill that we will not own them as our Christian brethren.

But now it is time to let the reader see those papers I have mentioned; and he will judge for himself.





# EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO HIS ILLUSTRIOUS EXCELLENCY

AMETH BEN AMETH,

AMBASSADOR OF THE MIGHTY EMPEROR OF FEZ AND MOROCCO,  
TO CHARLES II. KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.



AMONGST the many splendid entertainments and receptions, amidst the several congratulatory encomiums and presents, that were offered unto your excellency, as public testimonies of the esteem and admiration the inhabitants of this western empire do justly conceive of the mighty and glorious emperor of Morocco, your master, and of your own peculiar virtues; there hath been no such address or present made unto your excellency, none, as we presume, that was of a weightier importance (though slenderer appearance) than this which we now submit to your liking and acceptance at your departure. For the contents thereof, being about the mysteries of that all-sufficient and invisible one Deity, its own intrinsic value needs no words, nor the usual adornments that might be expected from us, to set it out with an outward splendour, to so discerning a person in spiritual and sublime matters as your excellency is known to be, even in the judgment of learned universities. Besides, truth in these countries is

fain to go, sometimes like princes, in a disguise; who, being out of their own kingdoms, are driven to put by their royal habiliments, for to converse with more safety and freedom with a few wise and faithful worthies they can best trust. Religion then, excellent sir, the religion of an one only Godhead, (as also of many other great verities wherein ye agree with our sect, and disagree from other Christians,) is the veiled princess whereof we are now become the venturesome ushers into your excellency's presence; I said venturesome, not by reason of any affront we need fear at your hands, but rather from the rash severity of some of our own fellow Christians here for venting those verities we shall declare to hold in common with you; (which are contrary to them;) yet Christ's and our spirit is otherwise, to essay by gentle persuasions and union with all mankind, as far as may be.

Know therefore, noble sir, that we are of that sect of Christians that are called Unitarians; who first of all do, both in our own names, and in that of a multitude of our persuasion, (a wise and religious sort of people,) heartily salute and congratulate your excellency, and all that are with you, as votaries and fellow-worshippers of that sole supreme Deity of the Almighty Father and Creator: and we greatly rejoice, and thank his divine bounty, that hath preserved your emperor and his people in the excellent knowledge of that truth, touching the belief of an only sovereign God, (who hath no distinction or plurality of persons,) and in many other wholesome doctrines, wherein ye persevere; about which, this our western part of the world are declined into several errors, from the integrity of their

predecessors. But besides this much in the general, our attendance on your excellency at this time hath a more special prospect, as you shall perceive by the sequel. For, about thirty or more years, there came an ambassador, as your excellency is, from the emperor of Morocco into Europe; with whom count Maurice of Nassau, prince of Orange, (a protestant Christian,) and the prince of Portugal, (a papal Christian,) held a conference about the Christian and Mahometan religion. The ambassador deferred then to speak fully his mind on the matter till after his return home; and when he had there consulted with the learned in the Alcoran, he sends his answer in a letter; which not only sets forth the tenets of his own religion, but also refutes some errors held amongst the Protestant and Romanist Christians: in some of which, as in other points, we presume that ambassador was mistaken and misinstructed. Now we herewith present unto your excellency a faithful transcript of that letter, that is with difficulty to be seen, only in the cabinets of those princes to whom it was directed in Latin: not that we account the contents thereof to be a novelty to you that are of that religion, but because it is a piece of rarity and learning; and chiefly for that it is the foundation on which we build another small piece or two in the same language: the which we here dedicate likewise unto your emperor, to your excellency, and to his Mauritanian subjects; the which comprehends the main design of our waiting on you at present. Now forasmuch as that noble ambassador doth in this letter write some things which to us seem very ungrounded, and therein charges without sufficient distinction the whole body of Christians



with such errors which we Unitarians do abhor as well as the Mahometans, with whom we must agree in such, even against our other fellow Christians; therefore we that are fained to be more exercised soldiers in such controverted points of religion, and should best know the differences in Europe about the same, shall undertake in this our second and third treatise, (which are but as observations on that letter,) first, to set forth (for your better information) briefly and distinctly in what points all Christians do generally agree with the Mahometans in matters of religion; secondly, in what things Christians universally disagree from you, with the reasons for the same; thirdly, in what cases you do justly dissent from the Roman catholics; fourthly, that protestant Christians do join with you in your condemning of those Romish errors, and theirs and our reasons for the same; fifthly, we intend there to lay down in what articles we the Unitarian Christians (of all others) do solely concur with you Mahometans; (to which we draw nigher in those important points than all other protestant or papal Christians;) with our additional arguments to yours, to prove, that both we and you have unavoidable grounds from scripture and reason to dissent from other Christians in such verities, (though we do count them otherwise,) our brethren in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Therefore, in the sixth place, we, as your nearest fellow-champions for those truths; we, who with our Unitarian brethren were in all ages exercised to defend with our pens the faith of one supreme God, (without personalities or pluralities,) as he hath raised your Mahomet to do the same with the sword,



as a scourge on those idolizing Christians; we, I say, in this our peculiar lot in religious controversies, shall, in our duty of love, undertake to discover unto you, in these our books, those weak places that are found in the platform of your religion; and shall herein (with your favour) offer to your consideration some materials to repair them: for we do (for the vindication of your lawmaker's glory) strive to prove that such faults and irregularities, not cohering with the fashion of the rest of the Alcoran building, nor with the undoubted sayings of your prophet, nor with the gospel of Christ, (whereof Mahomet would have himself to be but a preacher,) that therefore, I say, those contradictions were foisted into the scattered papers found after Mahomet's death, of which in truth the Alcoran was made up; it being otherwise impossible that a man of that judgment, that hath proved itself in other things so conspicuously, should be guilty of so many and frequent repugnancies as are to be seen in those writings and laws that are nowadays given out under his name. We do then in these our papers endeavour to clear by whom and in what time such alterations were made in the first setting out of the Alcoran; and though we have ten times more to urge on the same subject than we present, yet by a few summary touches that we have here in a few days made up for your view, we suppose there may be enough to satisfy any unprejudiced and thinking persons: such as it is, we beseech you to accept thereof as friendly advices left to your reason and conscience to judge of with yourselves; seeing we offer not the same as to defame or upbraid you, but out of humanity and a loving spirit, to the end that

if you think fit to examine and redress those errors, we may by your proceedings stop the mouths of your adversaries, against whom we are often fain to stand for you in such points wherein we may well and reasonably do it. Lest, after all, your excellency should judge of this our undertaking and present in a narrow and contracted idea, suitable to the slenderness of our persons, parts, or retinue, who are but two single philosophers, and yet come as orators of those Unitarians whom we proclaimed to be so great and considerable a people, it is necessary we should give a short view of the antiquity and extent of this noble sect, and hint to you the reasons that make them in these European parts use such cautiousness; and as to their sentiments, to carry themselves, as those princes I mentioned to go *incognito*.

As to their antiquity, I need but call it to your mind, that not only all the patriarchs down from Adam till Moses, not only all the Jews under the written Law and the Old Testament, to this very day, were still worshippers of an one only God, (without a trinity of persons,) but that also all the primitive Christians, in and after Christ and his apostles' time, never owned any other besides that single and supreme Deity; and all the true and purest Christians their lawful disciples do to this very day worship no other but the sole sovereign God, the Father and Maker of all things. And therefore are we called Unitarians, as worshippers of that one only Godhead in essence and person, that we may be distinguished from those backsliding Christians named Trinitarians, who own three coequal and self-subsisting Persons, whereof every

one is an absolute and infinite God, (as they pretend,) and yet they will have all these three to be but one God; which is such a contradicting absurdity, that certainly our wise Maker and Lawgiver would never impose it to be believed upon that harmonious and relative rectitude he hath placed in the reason of man. But of the first who opposed this rising error in old times was Paul of Samosate, a zealous and learned bishop of Antioch, with his people and adherents; he lived sixty years before the council of Nice, that was held on this subject about three hundred years after the ascension of Christ our Lord. There was also Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, with his friends and followers; Eustathius, bishop of Antioch; and Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, with many more that lived in the time of that council, did openly withstand and refute the Trinitarian schism, as we see in the chronicles of that age. I omit Photinus, bishop of Sir-mium, and the famous Nestorius, with many more persecuted persons for the same truth; who though they had some nominal differency about the too curious expositions of those mysteries, yet they agreed in that main point of the undistinguished sovereign unity. And from the reign of the emperor Constantine both the oriental and occidental empire generally persisted for some hundred years in that same faith, resisting those contradictory opinions of the Trinitarians: even in the declining times of Christianity, occasioned by the growth or the tyrannical usurpation of the popes and clergy, who would force their private notions and human inventions on men's consciences; that is, in the reign of the emperor Charles the Great, about the year eight hundred,



Bonosius and Elipandus, with other bishops and Christians in Spain, unanimously opposed the doctrine of the Trinity. And of late years in Europe stood up the pious and noble personage Faustus Socinus, and his Polonian association of learned personages, that writ many volumes against that and other sprung up errors among Christians. But now to lay before your excellency the extent of this orthodox faith of the Unitarian Christians, in what nations it is held, be pleased to observe that all the Christians throughout Persia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, those called of St. Thomas, and some Hollanders and Portuguese in Asia, those that live among the Greeks in Europe, even your neighbouring Christians in Nubia; all those together (which far exceed the Trinity asserting Christians) do maintain with us that faith of one sovereign God, one only in person and essence. And why should I forget to add you Mahometans, who also consent with us in the belief and worship of an one only supreme Deity? to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

But in the west and north of Europe we are not so numerous, by reason of the inhumanity of the clergy, who, contrary to the gentle ways of Christ, would convince us and others, but by fire and thunder, and gaols, and swords of princes; though our patient carriage and brotherly love towards them, for their precious truths we still hold in common, might evidence to them of what sort of spirit both they and we are. Yet our people are numerous in Poland, in Hungary, in Holland, as well as England; but being under the threats of such unchristian persecutions, (which hath been in the wisdom of God the lot of all true Christians from the begin-



ning, for to try, exercise, and fortify their knowledge and virtue by the opposition of their adversaries,) we cannot open ourselves, nor argue touching our faith, but that even our nearest friends that are Trinitarians, out of a mistaken zeal, would be the first to deliver us up to bishops' courts, prisons, and inquisitions, to the endangering both our lives and fortunes. That is the sad reason that we have not hitherto waited in greater numbers to congratulate and welcome your excellency, nor can at this present in such a manner as we well judge to be suitable to your grandeur, and the respect we bear to your prince and people, for any share of divine truth you or any other do hold entire with us from our God and from our Saviour Christ.

Countenance therefore this philosophical plainness and freedom, (that is part of our profession,) which emboldens us two to be more forward than others of our persuasion, to offer to you, rather than fail, even a mess of our own trade. Such slight presents in appearance as these little books are, whose contents nevertheless we think so important for the good of your souls, that we would be ready (if acceptable) to go and assert the contents thereof to the learned of your country, had we any prospect of success, while we are uncertain what entertainment attends such as would object any thing against your Alcoran, be it never so modestly and lovingly proposed.

Therefore, since we cannot now in person, be pleased, noble sir, to communicate the import of these manuscripts to the consideration of the fittest persons of your countrymen, only as a scantling of what the more learned of our Unitarian brethren

could say, far beyond any thing that is here on these subjects of our differences. And lest you might think it too mean an office to be instrumental in spreading any such divine verity, consider, if it be so great a matter to perform the part of an ambassador among earthly princes, (which your excellency hath so laudably done of late,) how far more glorious is it to undertake the least embassy in the cause and religion of the supreme Monarch of the world! to whom be glory and dominion for ever. Amen.

THE  
SOCINIAN TRINITY  
EXPLAINED,  
AND COMPARED WITH THAT OF  
THE CHRISTIANS.  
IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

JUNE, 1694.

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SIR,

**T**HE Socinians hold a Trinity as well as we; nay, they hold several Trinities. They have lately published Biddle's Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity. But in the explanation of this is all the difference.

I. He and one part of the Socinians make the second and third Persons to be creatures; wherein they are guilty of a very gross sort of idolatry, beyond what was acknowledged by any of the heathens, to join creatures into one holy Trinity with God, and to baptize men into the faith and worship of creatures. The Arians could never answer the charge of idolatry, in giving divine honour to Christ while they acknowledged him to be but a creature; nor can the worship of Christ, supposing him but a creature, be excused from idolatry, by any manner of way, which will not at the same time justify the excuses, not only of the church of Rome, but of the heathens themselves, for their idolatry.

II. Another sort of Socinians deny the second and third of the Trinity to be persons; and make them no more than the power and wisdom of God, one called his Word, the other his Spirit, but yet that they are nothing different from God; as by man's spirit you mean the man himself. Thus the Brief History of the Unitarians.

But by this rule they cannot stop at a Trinity in God, but must go through all his attributes, justice, mercy, providence, omnipotence, eternity, and twenty more; and instead of the three in heaven, (which they acknowledge,) they must go to a fourth, fifth, and sixth, and without end.

John i. 14. In the next place, where it is said, *The Word was made flesh*, they say that no person was made flesh: this second of the Trinity they say is not a person, but only God's power, or the manifestation of his power, which they say inhabited an human person, i. e. the person of Jesus Christ.

So God inhabited or inspired the prophets, apostles, &c.; but this did not make him to become flesh: but he inspired Christ in a higher degree.

The degree signifies nothing as to the being made flesh: no inspiration or inhabitation of God, or any thing less than an impersonation, i. e. taking our flesh into his own person, so as to be one person with him, nothing less than this can make him to be flesh.

And it is certain that nothing can be made flesh but a person. A manifestation of God, or of any thing else, is nothing in itself; it is but our manner of apprehending what is manifested or shewn to us: and to talk of this being made flesh is the grossest nonsense and contradiction: therefore if there be



but one Person in the Trinity, (as this set of Socinians do hold,) then the whole Trinity was made flesh; and then they must come to Muggleton, who says, as they do, that there is but one Person in the Godhead, which is God the Father; and that he was incarnate, and really died, so that there was then no God; but Muggleton says, that Elijah governed in his absence, raised him from the dead, and restored him to his throne, and then he was God again.

But, on the other hand, if there be three Persons in the holy Trinity, (as the rest of our Socinians do hold,) but the second and third only creatures, and that the Word (the second Person) was incarnate; then they must answer for their idolatry in worshipping a mere creature; and answer the cloud of texts which require and attest divine honour to be due to Christ, and command the very angels of God to worship him.

But to turn again to those Socinians who will have but one Person in the Trinity: they put this meaning upon Matt. xxviii. 19. that we are *baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, (who is the self-same Person with the Father,) and of the Holy Ghost, (who is the same Person with them both.)*

Again, *If you sin against one of these you shall* Matt. xii.  
*be forgiven, but if you sin against another* (who is <sup>32</sup>  
*the very same with that one) you shall not be for-*  
*given.*

III. Now, I pray you, compare their Trinity and ours. They make three in heaven, who are not only three, but may be threescore, and yet all but one and the self-same Person.

We acknowledge the three in heaven, whom the

scriptures tell us of, to be only three, and that they are three Persons.

One of these was made flesh, the other not; yet they will not allow them to be different Persons, but that he who took flesh and he who did not take flesh were the same, or that they were not two.

These are the men who cry out upon mysteries, and pretend to explain their faith wholly by reason and demonstration, and to make it easy and intelligible to the meanest understanding!

Besides, they differ more (if more can be) betwixt one another than they do from us. What greater difference can there be concerning the object of our worship, than one to make it God, the other but a creature? as it is among the Socinians, in their opinion of the second and third in the holy Trinity. What greater difference, than for one to say they are persons, another no person? one to say they are adorable, the other not? Must not one of these think the other idolaters? and the other think them profane, and erroneous in faith, who deny divine honour to whom it is due?

IV. We acknowledge a great and sublime mystery in the holy Trinity of God. That is a mystery to us which exceeds our understanding; and many such mysteries there are, to us, in the nature of God, which we all acknowledge: a first cause without a beginning! a being, which neither made itself, nor was made by any other! infinite without extension! in every place, yet circumscribed in no place! eternal and perpetually existing, without any succession of time! a present, without past or future! and many other such unexplainable, unintelligible, incomprehensible mysteries; which yet hin-

der not our belief of a God: and therefore not being able fully and clearly to explain the Trinity, which is the very nature of God, can be no reason for us to reject such revelation which God has given us of himself. Yet do we not want several shadows and resemblances of one nature communicating itself to many individuals, without either a multiplication or division of the nature. We say that the soul is all in all, and all in every part of the body; yet that the soul is neither multiplied nor divided among the several members of the body. It is impossible for us either to explain this, or to deny it; for we feel it to be so, though it is wholly unconceivable to us how it can be. Now if the soul, which is but an image of God, at an infinite distance, can communicate itself to several members without breach of its unity, why should it be impossible for the eternal and infinite mind to communicate itself to several persons without breach of its unity? I will be bold to say, you will not find so near a parallel in nature whereby to conceive of God's eternity or his infinity as this, and a great many more, whereby we may conceive of his Trinity and Unity. By what we feel in ourselves, and see in a thousand things that are before us, we see extension not divided, but distinguished into its three dimensions; and communicating its whole nature to each of the three, for each is extension; and yet there is but one extension in all the three.

The soul is not divided betwixt its several faculties; they remain perfectly distinguished, though not divided from one another. To understand what is present, is a quite different thing from remembering what is past; and to love or hate is different



from both of these; yet these three faculties, the understanding, the memory, and the will, partake all equally of the same soul.

Light and heat are so different, that some are capable of the one who are not of the other; and yet they are not divided in the sun, but flow equally and naturally from it without any division of its nature.

I say not that any of these parallels do come up to the full explanation of the communication of the divine nature to several persons, without any division or multiplication of the nature; but I am sure they take away the contradiction alleged to be in it, while we see the same difficulty in our own and other natures which we can as little explain.

V. But instead of solving this difficulty, the Socinians have made it a downright and irreconcilable contradiction. They would have three to be one and the self-same person: this cannot be saved from a contradiction. They acknowledge the three in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit: if they are one and the self-same person they cannot be three; if they are one nature and several persons, this is a difficulty, it is a mystery; but it is no contradiction, because they are not one and three in the same respect; for that is necessary to make it a contradiction. In one respect, that is, of their nature, they are one; in another respect, that is, of their persons, they are three: but if they are one in person as well as in nature, and yet are three, (as these Socinians do confess,) then they are three and one in the self-same respect, which is a full contradiction.



THE  
SECOND LETTER

PUTS OUR ENGLISH UNITARIANS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES,  
AND SHEWS THEY ARE NOT CHRISTIANS.

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SIR,

July 17, 1697.

I HAVE received yours dated the 5th instant, wherein you desire a second letter from me concerning the Socinians, or Unitarians, (as they call themselves;) and you tell me how much you have been disappointed as to the issue of the first which you desired from me; that you were made believe by those Socinians of your acquaintance, that they were as ready to defend their own principles, by reason, as to object against others; and that they would immediately give you an answer to any thing upon that head, provided it were short and clear. You tell me, that they object nothing against my first letter upon either of these accounts; and yet that now, in three years' time, you can get no answer from them, though you have been made daily to expect it. Sir, this is no surprise to me; this is what I told you at the beginning would be the event of it. I told you, that men of least reason were the greatest pretenders; that many can apprehend an objection who have not depth of reason enough to search into the solution. Therefore objecting is the easier task; according to the proverb, that *A f—— may ask more questions than a wise man can answer*. Therefore I told you, that this sort of men would never endure

to have the tables turned upon them, and be put to defend themselves; that when they saw more contradiction amongst themselves than they can pretend amongst us, and the difficulties which they object against our hypothesis return ten times more monstrous and manifold against their own, they would be silent, and at last modest.

Therefore since they have worn out your patience, and that you are now out of hopes of having any answer from them, you are provoked to pursue them; and desire to know from me how far they ought to be allowed as Christians. You speak of our English Unitarians.

But I must first enter my protest against their assuming the name of Unitarians: for though they profess the unity of God, (whence they take that name,) yet they profess it not more than all Christians do; neither can they avoid that name which they would render so odious, of Trinitarians; for they all hold a Trinity as well as we; and, which is worse, different sorts of Trinities, and contradictory to one another and to themselves, as is shewn in the first letter. But, however, they will have themselves known by the name of Unitarians, and us of Trinitarians; and so let it go; for we contend not about names, but things. Yet this precaution was necessary, lest they should take advantage of words, or others be offended.

And now I come to answer directly to your question. And I think that our English Unitarians can in no propriety be called Christians; that they are more Mahometans than Christians, and greater enemies to Christianity than the Mahometans. Lastly, I will shew that they are not owned as Christians

even by those they call their brethren, the main body of the Unitarians or Socinians in Christendom.

I. First, that they are not Christians. Christians are so called from the God whom they worship; and therefore these who think Christ not to be God, nor worship him as such with divine honour, cannot, in any propriety of speech, be called Christians.

For it will be allowed me, on all hands, that to denominate a man truly a Christian, it is not enough that he believes there was such a man as Christ, for that is acknowledged by all the world; nor is it sufficient to believe no more than what the Mahometans profess, viz. that Christ was the Messiah, the Word of God, and intercessor with God for men; that he was conceived and born miraculously of a virgin; that he was a true Prophet sent from God; that he raised the dead, cured the blind, lame, &c. and wrought many miracles; that all he taught was truth; and, finally, that the scriptures both of the Old and New Testament are the word of God; I say, all this is not sufficient to denominate a man a Christian, because the Mahometans do believe all this; and their Alcoran does not reckon any to be a true Mussulman, that is, a believer, who does not acknowledge all this: as you may see in the Alcoran, cap. iii. iv. and v., in the English translation of it, printed at London, 1649. It was reprinted 1688, and added to the second part of the new edition of the Turkish History. They who would be farther satisfied may consult the Latin translation of the Alcoran, by D. Pet. Abbas Cluniacensis, put out by Theodor. Bibliander.

But in the chapters above quoted, and many other places of the Alcoran, you will see as high and honourable things spoken of Christ as you will hear from any of our Unitarians here in England. And therefore if the belief of all this be not sufficient to entitle the Turks and other Mahometans to the name of Christians, neither can it entitle our English Unitarians to it, who are no more Christians than these.

II. And from the affinity betwixt our Unitarians and the Mahometans, our Unitarians do apparently side with the Mahometans against the Christians; and represent Mahometans as the true Christians, and our Christianity as mere paganism and heathenism, as I will shew you presently.

But they put their words into the mouths of others for popularity sake; for such new schemes when understood (and they are easily understood) would, as yet, sound very surprisingly here in England.

Yet all this notwithstanding, when so fair an opportunity offered as the presence of the Morocco ambassador, and the acceptance he found at court in the year 1682, our English Unitarians here in London could not resist the occasion, but sent an address to him, by two of their number, a copy of which I have from unquestionable hands, and wherein you will see how gently they deal with Mahomet and the Alcoran, both of which they vindicate, and prefer to our Christianity.

And they have not been idle since that time of promoting their common cause secretly and underhand, while they were kept under by the authority of laws and discountenance of the government. But



of late years, taking advantage of the plenitude of the indulgence granted to dissenters of several sorts and sizes, they have appeared publicly in print, and indefatigably filled the nation with their numerous pamphlets. And finding encouragement, have at last proceeded, as to vilify Christianity, so, in its place, to recommend Mahometism under the fairest and most taking characters. One of their late treatises, entitled, *A Letter of Resolution concerning the Doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation*, p. 18, represents Mahomet as having had “no other design but to restore the belief of the “Unity of God, which at that time,” says he, “was “extirpated among the eastern Christians by the “doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. That “Mahomet meant not his religion should be esteemed a new religion, but only the restitution of the “true intent of the Christian religion. That the “Mahometan learned men call themselves the true “disciples of the Messias, or Christ;” intimating thereby, that Christians are apostates from the most essential parts of the doctrine of the Messias, such as the Unity of God, &c. That Mahometism has prevailed so greatly, “not by force and the sword “——but by that one truth in the Alcoran, the “Unity of God.”

Then he represents the Tartars as acting more rationally in embracing “the more plausible sect of “Mahomet,” (as he translates it from an author he quotes,) than the Christian faith of the Trinity, Incarnation, &c.

He would have us believe, that the doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation was that which paved the way for Mahometism, by prejudicing men against

the Christian faith ; whereas the truth is, that Mahometism came in upon the ruins of the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, advanced by the Arians, which shook the Christian faith, so as to dispose those who had forsaken it for the vile heresy of Arius to receive any new impressions which were contrary to it ; insomuch that, generally speaking, wherever Arianism prevailed, and nowhere else among Christians, was Mahometism embraced ; which was but an improvement upon the stock that the Arians had laid down. And the Alcoran is a system of Arianism.

He says that the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation do hinder the Mahometans, Jews, and Pagans from embracing of Christianity.

Yes ; and the Socinians, and our English Unitarians too. For till they believe these doctrines they are not Christians : these being the essential doctrines of Christianity.

Indeed, if we should dwindle down the Christian doctrine to what they believe, we should soon gain them : for then we were agreed, that is, we should cease to be Christians as well as they.

If it be true that is said of a Jesuit, who, finding no other way to convert an heathen prince, represented Christ to him as a warrior and mighty conqueror, and so gained him to be baptized in his name ; this was such a sort of Christian as we should make, by bringing down the Christian faith to their size whom we could not persuade to come up to it.

But I am not now arguing with these our Unitarians, only shewing their principles ; and how much nearer they come to Mahometism, or Paganism, than to Christianity.

And therefore I do not examine all that most notorious false representation, before quoted, which our Unitarians have given of Mahomet and his doctrine from divers historians, as they say, (but name none of them, lest we should examine them;) as that he did not propagate his religion “by force and “the sword,” though it be the professed principle of the Alcoran, and practice of Mahomet and his followers, and is owned in the address of our Unitarians to the Morocco ambassador, as well as witnessed by the histories and experience of all the ages since Mahomet.

This modest author (or club) affirms, with the same assurance, *ibid.* that the Mahometans call themselves the “true disciples of Christ.” And in the same, p. 18, he represents our modern Christianity (so he calls the faith of the Trinity and Incarnation) as “no better nor other than a sort of paganism and “heathenism.”

I stay not now to confute these. My present business being only to let the world see what sort of Christians our modern Unitarians are: and to give notice of them, as scouts amongst us for Mahomet, whom they have in so great a measure already owned; and now openly propagate his cause, write apologies for him, and recommend him in the best manner that they can, in odium to the common Christianity, which they represent as much more vile; nay, more vile than Mahomet ever represented it; as “no better nor other than a sort of paganism “and heathenism.” Therefore these are greater enemies to Christianity than the Mahometans.

If these be Christians, I am sure we are not. But they are abominable and detested, so as not to be



owned for so much as Christians even by those whom they sometimes vouch to be of their own party, and boast in their numbers and authority; I mean the Socinians or Unitarians in Poland, Transylvania, and other parts of Christendom. Which is the second branch of what I promised, and come now to consider.

III. The great body of the Socinian Unitarians are in Poland; and their metropolis is Cracovia; there is their root and stock, whence branches are spread into other countries.

And the Cracovian, commonly called the Racovian, Catechism is their text; published by the body of them, in the year 1609, as the true standard of their doctrine; and is owned as such by the body of the Socinians elsewhere. Therefore I will take my proofs from thence, as being more authentic than any quotations out of their particular writers. And thus I frame my argument.

Those who deny divine worship to Christ are not reckoned Christians by the Racovian Catechism.

But the English Socinian Unitarians do deny divine worship to Christ.

Therefore the English Socinian Unitarians are not reckoned Christians by the Racovian Catechism.

The minor is proved (to save multiplicity of quotations) from a book of theirs printed at London 1694, entitled, *Considerations upon the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity, &c.*; where, p. 59, they express themselves plainly in these words: "We have wrote no book these seven years in which we have not been careful to profess to all the world, that alike honour or worship (much



“less the same) is not to be given to Christ as to “God.”

The major is proved from the Racov. Catech. sect. vi. cap. 1; in that printed Irenopoli 1659, in octavo, p. 164. I will translate the words for the sake of the English reader.

*Quest.* In what manner ought we to trust in Christ?

*Ans.* In the same manner as in God himself.

*Quest.* What then do you think of those men who believe that Christ is neither to be prayed to nor worshipped?

*Ans.* Forasmuch as those are Christians who worship Christ with divine honour, and do not doubt to call upon his name, it is easily understood that those who will not do this are not hitherto Christians, although otherwise they profess the name of Christ, and pretend to adhere to his doctrine.

*Quest.* *Quo vero pacto Christo debemus confidere?*

*Resp.* *Eo pacto quo ipsi Deo.* *ibid.* p. 172.

*Quest.* *Quid vero sentis de iis hominibus qui Christum nec invocandum nec adorandum censent?*

*Resp.* *Quandoquidem illi deum Christiani sunt, qui Jesum——divina ratione colunt, ejusque nomen invocare non dubitant——facile intelligitur, eos qui id facere nolunt, Christianos hactenus non esse, quamvis alioqui Christi nomen profiteantur, et doctrinæ illius se adhærere dicant.*

And to cut off the distinction of several degrees of divine honour; and that a lesser degree of it may be given to Christ than to God; and that that which is given to Christ should be relative only to God, and so paid ultimately to God alone: by which distinction (of Latria and Dulia) the church of Rome pretends to defend her giving an inferior honour to the blessed Virgin, and to saints and angels, but all referred ultimately to God: I say, the Racovian Catechism does plainly name this distinction, and overthrows it; and establishes this as a fundamental truth: that

All religious worship is due only to God : *and that* it is not lawful to give not only the highest, but the least degree of religious honour to any but God.

*And says, that* Christ is not only like God, but equal to God in the supreme power and government of all things : *that* he is not only the only begotten Son of God, but God.

To whom all things obey as unto God, and to whom divine worship ought to be paid, as being God over all blessed for ever.

Ibid. p. 172, 173. *Etenim cultus religiosus soli Deo omnis debetur—Ex quo apparet, non modo summo honoris gradu, sed nec inferiori, qui modo religiosus sit, quenquam licere afficere, præter Deum.*

Ibid. sect. iv. p. 47. *Denique quia etiam imperio, ac suprema in omnia potestate Deo similis, imo æqualis est effectus—Non solum autem est Filius Dei unigenitus, sed etiam—jam tum Deus fuit.*

Ibid. p. 100. *Cui, sicut Deo, omnia parebant, et cui divina adoratio exhibeatur.*

Ibid. p. 108. *Cum Deus sit super omnia, benedictus in secula.*

It is true that the Racov. Catech. does, notwithstanding all this, deny Christ to be partaker of the divine nature, and allows him to be but a creature : (sect. iv. c. 1. p. 114.) though it grants,

*That* God did make Christ most like unto himself by the participation of his divine nature and glory, and that in Christ he would have all to worship and adore himself.

*That* he communicated to Christ his own divine and heavenly majesty, and made him one and the selfsame with himself.

Ibid. p. 118. *Quod Deus Christum sibi divinæ naturæ et gloriæ participatione simillimum effecerit, in eoque se coli et adorari ab omnibus velit.*

Ibid. p. 170. *Siquidem ipse Deus divinam suam cælestemque majestatem cum illo communicavit, et hactenus unum eundemque secum effecit.*

I grant this to be a manifest contradiction : it says that Christ did and did not partake of the divine nature : and besides, it quite overthrows the distinc-

tion of relative and inferior worship which it set up, p. 172, 173, against the church of Rome; and yet, p. 118, as above quoted, is forced to make use of it to solve the idolatry of paying divine or religious honour to Christ, supposing him not to be true God by nature, but only a made God, as these Socinians most foolishly, blasphemously, and contradictorily do dream.

But the use I have to make of it is to shew, that our English Socinian Unitarians (because they deny divine honour to Christ) are exploded, as no Christians, by the main body of the Socinians.

If they say that, because of this difference, they are not to be reckoned among the Polonian Unitarians, I have shewn, in the First Letter, that they differ as widely, and in points as fundamental, among themselves here in England; and that they own as brethren (to increase their number, and make themselves more considerable) those whom they have as little pretence to as to the Socinians of Poland, and other countries, and from whom they differ as much as from these in Poland.

In the next place, when they come to boast their antiquity, and to rid themselves from the scandalous imputation of being an upstart heresy, and contrary to all ages of Christianity; and from being such a contemptible number in this small corner of the world, our miserably distracted and divided island, which in the time of our late schism of forty-one produced, like Egypt upon the overflowing of the Nile, monstrous herds of heterogeneous heresies; among whom were these now revived, Semi-Arian, Semi-Socinian, English Unitarians, the foundation and rise of Quakers, Muggletonians, and vile pud-

dle of our sectaries; among whom John Biddle, not the least, then arose, a schoolmaster in Gloucester, now owned by our English Unitarians, his life written with great pomp, and his blasphemous works reprinted, and put amongst the volumes of the Unitarian tracts, now freely published and openly dispersed, to poison the nation; I say, when this novelty and paucity of our English Unitarians is objected, then the Socinians of Poland, Transylvania, and all other parts are mustered up, Socinus is magnified, and Arius too is brought in aid, and the numerous council at Ariminum is much insisted on, and more ancient heretics are enlisted, to shew the antiquity and universality of the English Unitarian creed.

But when pressed with the different tenets of these or any of them, then they are all thrown off and disowned, and as hard words given them by our English Unitarians as by any other their adversaries whatsoever.

Then they take pains to shew, and brag of it, that they (the Unitarians of England) are not only disowned, but that they would be excommunicated by the Unitarians of Poland if they were there.

See the full confession to this in that most celebrated book with them which bears this title, *A Brief History of the Unitarians*, called also *Socinians*. This was printed, and industriously dispersed gratis, in the year 1689, and reprinted with additions anno 1691. There, in answer to Acts ix. 14 and 21, p. 33 of the second edition, they confess in these words, “ The Polonian Unitarians were so zealous in this  
“ matter, that they excommunicated and deposed  
“ from their ministry such of their own party as



“ denied that Christ was to be prayed to, and worshipped with divine worship. This had bad effects; therefore the Unitarians of Transylvania were more moderate; they admitted to the ministers’ and professors’ places those that rejected the invocation and adoration of Christ, but obliged them, under their hands, not to speak against worshipping or praying to the Lord Christ in their sermons or lectures. Those Unitarians that reject the invocation of Christ say, &c.” And so he goes on in favour of these latter Unitarians, who reject the invocation of Christ.

And by what themselves here confess, our English Unitarians would not be permitted among the Unitarians of Poland, or Transylvania, or indeed in any other part of the Christian world, except in England, at this time.

And if Christianity holds here, their next remove will be under Mahomet; to whom they are nearer akin, and with whose ambassador they have already concerted; for his disciples too are Unitarians, and of as good a form as those who, very unjustly, distinguish themselves by that name here in England: from whom, good Lord, deliver this church and nation.

N. B. I have printed the address of our English Unitarians to the Morocco ambassador without any remarks upon it in that place, because all the allegations there made on their behalf are fully answered in what follows.

Our English Unitarians say that the Christians borrowed the notion of the Trinity from the heathen, (see before, p. 39, and the Remarks on my

First Dialogue, p. 6.) ; and yet their chief objection against the doctrine of the Trinity is, that it is so absurd and contradictory, as that neither Jews nor heathens knew any thing of it.

THE  
FIRST DIALOGUE.

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INTRODUCTION.

*Socinian.* HAVE you read the book I gave you, entitled, A Brief History of the Unitarians, called also Socinians?

*Christian.* I have; and I know it to be the celebrated book of your party; which therefore you have printed and reprinted often in several volumes since the year 1687, when you first did publish it; and you have since fully employed the liberty given you of propagating your principles openly and above-board; whereby you have gained too plentiful a harvest among those who, since they must have some religion, delight in that which is farthest from the true. But your success has been most among those who had not leisure or learning to examine your pretences; for whom this book is calculated, in a short, easy, and plausible turn to several texts of scripture; which they who love not the trouble of examining, are pleased should be true, think it sufficient for them, and so rest satisfied.

It is a translation and a compendium, yet with improvements, of larger Socinian treatises wrote in Latin, in the same method of answering the several texts of scripture in the order of the books as they lie, from Genesis to the Revelation, which are brought to prove the Christian doctrines of the

holy Trinity, and the incarnation of the second Person, which is Christ.

And this is the true and only method to determine this controversy; because these doctrines are discovered to us only by the revelation which is given of them in the holy scriptures: so that the whole question is, whether they are revealed there or not?

And the way to know this is twofold. First, from the very words of the scripture itself. Secondly, from the current sense of the church in those ages wherein the scriptures were wrote, and downwards; which is, at least, the best comment upon the scriptures: they who learned the faith from the mouths of the inspired writers themselves, and conveyed their writings down to us, being the most capable of any to give us the true sense and meaning of them.

And in both these respects you pretend to have the advantage; not only in your own interpretation of the scriptures; but you say likewise, that your doctrine was the primitive doctrine of the church, and ours introduced as a novelty and corruption afterwards.

We will discourse upon both these points in their order. But first let me ask you a question, in the same freedom of conversation which we have always used; and that is, whether your conviction or scruples began upon either the uncertainty of the scripture expressions themselves, or the sense of the first ages of the church? But, on the other hand, is not this truly the case, that you thought these doctrines irreconcilable to your own natural reason, and therefore by no means to be admitted, let the words



of the revelation be never so positive, or the testimony of antiquity never so clear in the matter? and therefore that you were obliged to turn and wind these the best you could, and to force them to comply with your hypothesis?

*Soc.* I will not deny but that, if there were no difficulty in apprehending how three can be one, or God could be man, I should without more ado acquiesce in such texts as these, that *these three are one*, that *the Word was God*, and that *the Word was made flesh*. But I suppose you will allow me, that where there is manifest contradiction we must turn the sense of the text another way. Will you say that we are obliged to believe contradictions?

*Chr.* No; but we are to be aware that we think not things to be contradictions, through the weakness of our understandings, which are not so in themselves.

*Soc.* I grant you all that: therefore if you can reconcile these things from being plain contradictions, I confess you will clear the way very considerably towards my receiving the texts you bring, in the easy, literal sense, and likewise for my joining in the testimonies of the ancient fathers of the church; with both of which (I have no scruple to tell you) we have trouble enough to satisfy ourselves, and ward off the force of the arguments you bring against us.

*Chr.* Therefore if I can say any thing towards your satisfaction in this, it will be a good preparative for what is to follow, that is, the consideration of the scripture texts, and the sense of antiquity in the matter.

*Soc.* If you can do that, your business is more

All belief  
founded  
upon rea-  
son.

than half done; and therefore I should be glad to know if you have any thing to offer upon that head. But I must caution you not to trouble me with subjecting my reason to faith, and such topics, with which I have been teased till I have no patience left; for I must tell you, that I cannot believe any thing but what I think I have reason to believe, else I could not believe it: and whoever tells me that I must believe because I must believe, I will not answer him one word more, but look upon him as abandoned from common sense, and only fit for Bedlam.

*Chr.* I readily agree with you, that we not only ought not, but that it is not in our power, to believe any thing but what we think we have reason to believe. The reason we go upon may not be good; that is the weakness of our understandings: but still we must think it good, else we could not believe it; for that would be to believe what we do indeed not believe. Every man has a reason (such as it is) for what he believes, though every man cannot always express it. "My barber told me so," may be a reason with some; but they could not believe it, if they did not think it a good reason.

Yet we  
know not  
the reason  
of many  
things that  
we believe.

But after all this, you will allow me, that we may have good reason to believe the matter of fact of many things, that such things are truly so and so; of the causes of which, or the nature of the things themselves, we may be ignorant to a great degree, and not able to solve many difficulties and objections which may arise concerning them. We know not the nature of any one thing under the sun but *a posteriori*; by guessing at it, from the effects we see it produce. Our knowledge here is

nothing but observation: we see trees grow, and produce their like; so of beasts and men: we find such and such virtues in herbs and minerals, &c. But we know not the reason of any one thing, no, not of a pile of grass, why of that colour, shape, or virtue.

But this we assuredly know, not only from observation, but from reason, that nothing can produce itself: for that would be to say, the cause is not before the effect; it would be to suppose the same thing to be before itself, that is, to be and not to be at the same time, which is the height of contradiction. Therefore we are forced, even from plain reason, to acknowledge a first Cause, which gave a being to all other things, and from whom all other things have proceeded.

But then, from the same reason, we must believe that the first Cause did not produce itself; for that would be the same contradiction as before: neither that it was produced by any other; for then it would not be the first Cause. We must likewise believe that this first Cause had no beginning; for then it must have a cause, and there must be a time supposed wherein it was not: and if that were supposed, then it could never be, because it could not receive its being from itself, nor from any other. From hence we must believe that its duration cannot be by succession or time, for then it must have a beginning.

Now how can we apprehend a duration without time; an eternity all present together; a Being that is self-existent, neither produced by itself nor by any other: yet all this hinders not our belief of a first Cause, being forced to confess it by undeni-



able reason; though we cannot solve these and a thousand more difficulties and seeming contradictions, which necessarily arise from such a supposition.

And because you cannot solve the difficulties which occur to you in this same incomprehensible nature of God, as to the Trinity and Incarnation, you reject the revelation that is given of it in the holy scriptures, and the current sense of the catholic church in the first and all following ages of Christianity, and strain your wit to turn and screw these to your purpose; which you confess you would not otherwise have done.

*Soc.* I make a difference betwixt things incomprehensible and which exceed our understandings, many of which are in the nature of God, besides those that you have named; and betwixt those positions which are downright contradictions, for these cannot be true. And we must force all the texts, and all the authority in the world, rather than admit of them; as that God should be man, or that three should make but one.

I.  
No contradiction  
in the  
terms by  
which we  
express the  
holy Tri-  
nity.

*Chr.* A contradiction is only where two contraries are predicated of the same thing, and in the same respect; for three men or three thousand may make but one company or one army: there is no difficulty in this.

Now I will grant you that it is a contradiction to say that three persons are but one person. But that three persons may be in one nature is no contradiction.

*Soc.* Come let us be plain. Is it not a contradiction that three men should be but one man?

*Chr.* By *man* here you mean *person*, in which



sense it is a contradiction; but it is no contradiction to say that there may be several human persons in the same human nature. We say there is but one human nature; yet we know there are many human persons.

*Soc.* But every person that partakes of this one common nature is a distinct man from all other men: and one man cannot be another man.

*Chr.* That is, one person cannot be another person; which is granted. And though we call each person a distinct man, yet, as I said, that is only with respect to his personality; for one man does not differ from another as to his nature, but only as to his person. And though we allow this common way of speaking as to men, to say one, two, or three men, &c. when it is strictly true only of their persons; yet this is not allowed as to the Persons in the divine nature, to say one, two, or three Gods; because it might lead men into the notion of polytheism, to think that there were more than one divine nature. Therefore there is reason to guard our expressions of God with much more care and strictness than when we speak of men. But if you would allow that several persons might partake of the one divine nature, as you allow they do of one human nature, our dispute would be at an end as to the substance of it; though still we have reason to insist upon the nicety of the expressions, for the cause told before.

*Soc.* This is nicety and philosophy indeed somewhat incomprehensible.

*Chr.* You make that no objection in our contemplation of the incomprehensible nature of God, as

in the several instances before given: all that you require is, that there should be no contradiction.

*Soc.* That is true. But still I think it a contradiction that several persons should not be several men. And though the divine nature is infinitely exalted above the human, yet what is a contradiction in one nature must be so in another.

*Chr.* I have before told you in what sense several persons may be called several men, not with respect to their nature, but only of their personalities, which may differ, but their nature cannot; for it is the same in all. So that here is no contradiction, though it may be a difficulty.

But now as to your other position, that what is a contradiction in one nature must be so in another, I think it will not hold.

*Soc.* Why? A contradiction is a contradiction wherever it is.

*Chr.* That is true. But that may not be a contradiction in one nature which is so in another.

*Soc.* I do not understand you; explain yourself.

*Chr.* Let me ask you a question; Is it not a contradiction that a man should go two yards as soon as one?

*Soc.* Yes, surely; for two yards are but one yard and another yard: and I cannot go two yards till I have first gone one.

*Chr.* Now open your eyes, and try if you see not what is at two yards' distance from you, as soon as you see what is but one yard from you. You see a star as soon as the top of a chimney.

Then go to thought. Can you not think of Rome, of Constantinople, as soon as of the next street?

Thus you see that what is a contradiction to legs, is none to eyes nor to thought. And the reason of this is, the different natures of these things.

Again; Is it not a contradiction, that I should be here sitting with you in this room, and at the same time should be with other company in another room? This is a flat contradiction to body; but it is no contradiction to soul, which at the same time is present in all the distant parts of the body, according to the old saying, that the soul is all in all, and all in every part of the body.

Once more: Is it not a contradiction that yesterday should be to-day, or that to-day should be to-morrow? for it would imply that the same thing should be past and not past, present and not present, present and yet to come. But with God all things are present; there is no past or to come in eternity.

Thus what is a contradiction to body, is not to soul; and what is a contradiction to time, is none to eternity; and what is a contradiction with men, is not so with God. And the reason is, as I have said, the different natures of these things; and that from a contradiction in the one, we cannot infer a contradiction in the other.

From hence I may conclude, that though it were a contradiction in human nature for several persons to partake of the same nature, and not to be several men, that is, several natures as well as persons; yet it will not follow that it is so in the divine nature, which is infinitely more distant and diverse from our nature than the motion of sight or thought is from that of our legs, than body is from spirit, or time from eternity. And if it be impossible for

all the philosophy and description in the world to give to a man that is born blind any idea whatsoever of the nature of sight or of its motion, or to reconcile its going two yards as soon as one, from downright contradiction; for he cannot but compare it with that motion which he only knows of legs or arms: or, if we could suppose a man without thought, it were utterly impossible to reconcile to him the progress of thought from the most palpable contradictions: how then should we object contradictions in the incomprehensible nature of God, from comparing it with our frail state of flesh and blood? Therefore I think we may safely depend upon this as a standing conclusion, that we cannot charge that as a contradiction in one nature because we find it so in another, unless we understand both natures perfectly well. And the divine nature being allowed on all hands to be incomprehensible, consequently we cannot charge any thing as a contradiction in it because we find it so in our frail nature.

And we find it thus in many other things. It is common to say, "This is impossible, it is a contradiction;" but being explained to us, we say, "Now it is easy; I did not understand it before; I took it quite wrong." Therefore we must understand things first before we charge contradictions in them. It is our ignorance often which makes the contradiction; as of the blind man judging of colours, or of the nature of sight, and comparing it with his walking.

11.  
Of the word  
person as  
applied to  
God.

*Soc.* It is easy to apprehend the difference between walking, seeing, and thinking; the very words do express it. And it would be improper to con-



found the words, to call walking, seeing; or seeing, walking, &c.: therefore, though doubtless there are many things in the divine nature which infinitely exceed our understanding, yet, for that reason, we ought not to apply to God those terms which are proper only to ourselves; as the word *Person*, to say there are three Persons in the Godhead. This raises the contradiction we speak of; because we cannot comprehend how three persons can be one in our nature.

*Chr.* I told you before, that we do not make three persons to be one person, but one nature. And though the motion of the feet is called *walking*, of the eye is called *seeing*, and of the mind is called *thinking*; yet to a man born blind, the word *seeing* is altogether unintelligible; he knows nothing at all of it: and you cannot give him any idea of light, or colour, but he must apprehend it as something that may be felt, heard, smelled, or tasted; for he cannot conceive but according to the senses he has. Now if there were words which could express the nature of God properly, or as he is known to the angels of heaven, they would be as unintelligible to us, as the word *seeing* is to one born blind. The apostle said, that when he was *caught up into paradise, he heard unspeakable* 2 Cor. xii. 4. *words, which it is not possible for a man to utter*; and if they were uttered, it would be impossible for us to understand them.

*Soc.* I can readily allow, that we must speak of God in words not strictly and properly adapted to him, but borrowed from terms we use among ourselves: as when we call God *Father*, we mean that we have our being from him; but not in that

manner as a son is begotten by his father among men.

*Chr.* And thus we understand the word *person*:  
 Heb. i. 3. as when Christ is called *the express image of his* (God's) *person*, we mean something of a quite different kind from the person of a man upon earth: but it is a word we must use, like the word *father*, because we have no other word to express it by.

And we find what we call personal actions attributed to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit; as, the one to send, the other to be sent; the one to proceed from the other; the one to beget, the other to be begotten of him; the one to take flesh, and not the other, &c.; therefore we call these persons, because we find personal actions attributed to them. And I cannot see but you have full as much reason to quarrel with the word *father* as the word *person*; they are both scripture words; therefore keep the word *person*, till you can find another word more proper, still remembering that these are words only *ad captum*, in condescension to our capacities, and therefore not to be taken strictly and properly as to God; and from a seeming contradiction that may appear in these things as they relate to men, we must not infer a contradiction in God, to whom these words are but improperly applied, and whose nature we do not understand. And therefore, as I said before, we cannot charge a contradiction in him, from what we find so in other natures which we do understand: for we cannot infer from the one to the other, unless we understand both; as in the instances before given of the motion of legs, sight, and thought, of body and soul, of time and eternity.

*Soc.* But is it not a contradiction that the Son should be as old as the Father, as you say of the Persons in the Trinity; for must not the cause be before the effect?

*Chr.* This is still measuring from one nature to another, when the one we understand not, and can speak of it only by allusion to the other. Therefore I may fairly deny your consequence, and shew that you argue from a wrong topic: that because it is a contradiction betwixt father and son among men, it will not follow that it is so in God.

But in this I can give you a plain answer, even from created natures which are before us: for though the cause must be before the effect in nature, yet not always in time; nay, never in time in all necessary effects. For where the effect is necessary to the cause, the cause cannot be without it; and therefore the effect must be as early in time as the cause. Thus light and heat are necessary effects of the sun; therefore they must be as early in time as the sun: and if the sun were eternal, light and heat would be as eternal; and yet they both proceed from the sun. And the sun is before them in nature, because they proceed from it; but not before them in time, because they are necessary effects, and the sun cannot be without them.

Now it is not necessary for a man to be a father; else every man must be a father. But if a man could not be a man without being a father, then he must be a father as soon as he was a man; and, consequently, the son must be as old in time as the father, though in the order of nature he would come behind him, as proceeding from him, and as the effect follows the cause: therefore, though it cannot

III.  
Of the Son  
being as old  
as the Fa-  
ther.

Of light  
and heat in  
the sun.



be in human nature that the son should be as old as his father, yet it may be in the divine nature.

*Soc.* That is, if the production in the divine nature be necessary.

*Chr.* As no doubt it is; for the first cause must be a necessary being, and there can be no accidents in him; he is incapable either of addition or diminution, for either would argue imperfection.

IV.  
Of the pro-  
duction in  
spirits.

*Soc.* But God is a Spirit: Is there production or generation in spirits? do they beget their like, as men do? or must two spirits join for the production of a third? or can spirits beget of themselves?

*Chr.* This is still bewildering yourself with the comparison of a nature you do not understand, and measuring it with a nature you do understand, and inferring from the one to the other, which will by no means hold.

I.  
Of the fa-  
culties in  
the soul.

But in the case you put there is some light given to us in the contemplation of our own soul, which is that image of God wherein he made man. In our soul we find there is a faculty of understanding a thing, that is, apprehending, or as it were seeing of it; and this resembles creation, or bringing things into being, as to us: for what we understand not, is to us as if it were not.

Then when we understand a thing, and are thus in possession of it, we find that our soul has another faculty of remembering it, that is, preserving its being, as to us: for without this, our understanding of any thing would last no longer than the impression of a seal upon water; and when the thought was past, it would be gone for ever, and we could never recover it. By which means we could have but one thought at a time; but we could



not compare thoughts and things, and infer or draw consequences from one to another, which we call reasoning; which therefore is attributed chiefly to this faculty of the soul: so that a man of sound memory, which is the form in wills, means the same in the construction of law as a man of sound judgment.

This resembles the *Λόγος*, or Word of God, which Justin Martyr in his *Apology* calls the Reason of God; for the word *Λόγος* signifies Reason, and so is used, Luke xvi. 2. Rom. iii. 28. xii. 1. 2 Pet. ii. 12. Matt. xvi. 7, 8. Luke v. 21. and several other places of holy scripture. And indeed reason, which is the reflection of the mind, is properly called the word of the mind, as near as an allusion can be made from body to soul: for words do outwardly express the reasoning that is inwardly in the thoughts; and the reflection of the mind is speaking words to itself: every reflex act is a colloquy.

When things are thus as it were created to us by the understanding, and preserved by the memory, that we may reason and reflect upon them, then they appear either agreeable or disagreeable to us: we contract either a liking or distaste to them; that is, we love or hate them: and this is the operation of a distinct faculty of the mind, which is called the will, and is the seat of happiness or misery. To enjoy what we love is pleasure and happiness; and to be joined to what we hate is misery and affliction. There are several things which we know, and which we remember; but they are indifferent to us, we neither love nor hate them; and therefore they afford us neither pleasure nor trouble: these passions are seated in the will, and come not till

the will has exerted an act either of love or aversion; thence arise love, fear, joy, grief, hope, despair, and all the passions: the will is the seat of all the passions.

This is a resemblance of the third Person in the holy Trinity, who is therefore called *the Spirit of love*, and *the Comforter*.

Now of these three faculties of the soul the understanding may well be called the father faculty; and the memory may be said to be begotten by it: for we could not remember what we did not first know. And the will results or proceeds from both of these; for we cannot love or hate what we do not both know and remember.

But in how many things should we err and be mistaken, if we should think to draw an exact parallel betwixt this generation in the faculties of the soul and the generation of bodies! In that of bodies, it is a contradiction the father should not be prior in time to the son. In that of the soul, it is a contradiction the son should not be as old as the father, because the soul cannot be without the three faculties: they are of the constitution of the soul, and it could not be a soul without them; therefore each of them must be as old as the other, and all as old as the soul.

*Soc.* That is, because the words *father* and *son* are not strictly and properly belonging to the faculties of the soul, only by way of allusion to the generation of bodies; therefore what is a contradiction in the one is none in the other.

*Chr.* How readily you can give this answer in the parallel betwixt body and soul! and yet how do you stick to give the same allowance in the

parallel betwixt mortal man and the infinite Being ! But you will make that to be a contradiction in the one, because you find it to be so in the other !

*Soc.* I grant there must be a vast difference betwixt the production there is in bodies, and that in spirits ; they are not of the same kind. But methinks there should be an exact parallel in the production of spirits ; for though there is higher and lower among them, yet they are all spirits, and so of the same kind. Now see if you can find an exact parallel betwixt the faculties of the soul, and the Persons of the Godhead ; and I will be content.

*Chr.* Think you not that there is infinitely greater difference and disproportion, even in kind, betwixt the soul of man and the eternal, incomprehensible Almighty, than there is betwixt the body and soul of man ! so that you ask of me what I will no ways undertake.

Only I still insist, that from a contradiction in the one, if you could find it, you could not infer a contradiction in the other, because you understand not both the natures you speak of ; and what is spoken of the one, is by way of allusion only to the other.

In the next place, the contradictions you allege are all by way of parallel betwixt God and the bodily persons of men upon earth ; and since you have granted me that a contradiction will not lie in the parallel betwixt the body and soul of man, I can much more strongly argue that it will not lie in the parallel betwixt the body of man and God ; so as that a contradiction in the one should infer a contradiction in the other.

But still I will go as far along with you as I



can; and having entered my protest, that I put nothing of the merits of the cause upon it, I will go on to shew you what is no contradiction in the faculties of the soul.

It is no contradiction that these three faculties should be one soul; and the soul nothing else, that we can tell, but these three faculties: that these three faculties should be all coeval as to time, and yet one before the other in order of nature, as proceeding the one from the other: that they are perfectly distinct the one from the other, having different objects and different manners of operation; the understanding being conversant about what is present, the memory about what is past, and the will about love and hatred; yet that they all act in concert, and no one of them can act without the other: for as the memory cannot act but upon a previous act of the understanding, and the will upon the act both of the understanding and the memory, so even the understanding does not act, nor the memory without a concurrent act of the will which consents to it: so that though they act distinctly, yet not separately; and the soul is not divided or multiplied among them, but the whole soul acts in each and all of them.

2.  
Of the difference be-  
twixt faculties and  
persons.

*Soc.* And now you think you have solved all our objections as to the Trinity, of three being one, and one three; and of their being coeternal, though one proceeding from the other: but your parallel will not hold betwixt faculties and persons.

*Chr.* I pretend not to prove any thing by parallels; they are but illustrations; nor do I think there can be any exact parallel betwixt God and any creature. But if the objections you bring may be



solved by what we can observe in created natures, it shews your unreasonableness to insist upon such difficulties against what is revealed of the incomprehensible Being: therefore let me hear what use you make of the difference betwixt faculties and persons in the present case.

*Soc.* You know the difference betwixt *substance* and *subsistence*; it is the latter only makes a person: and we give not different subsistences to the faculties of the soul; therefore they are not different persons: and we say, that three persons or subsistences cannot be one person.

*Chr.* And so say we too: we say that three persons are always three persons, though they may be one nature. But let me ask you, can three substances be one substance, or three faculties one faculty, more than three subsistences or persons can be one person? If not, then your distinction is of no use in the present case; for the difficulty of three being one, and one three, lies as much in the one case as in the other, and all you can say from this puzzling piece of philosophy signifies nothing; for whatever other uses may be made of it, it cannot help you in this case, since one substance can no more be another substance, nor one faculty be another faculty, than one person can be another person.

*Soc.* But why do you not say three faculties instead of three Persons in God? and then we should not so much quarrel with you.

3.  
Why we  
say persons  
and not fa-  
culties in  
God.

*Chr.* Because we must not alter the phrase of scripture, which calls Christ *the express image of* Heb. i. 3.  
*his* (Father's) *person*; *Χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ*,  
the image of his subsistence or personality.

For a son, being a distinct person, is the image of his father's person, but not of his nature; because the son partakes of the same nature in as full and ample manner as his father, and is as much and truly a man, having the same human nature with his father; in which he is equal to his father, but inferior as to his person: the relation and subordination between them is only upon a personal account, as it is among the Persons of the holy Trinity; though all equal in nature, which is but one: for if we say there is not more than one human nature, we cannot say there is more than one divine nature, though several persons partake of it.

Again, a person being the most complete and perfect substance, as subsisting by itself, and not in another, (like faculties or qualities,) must be given to God. There are no accidents, faculties, or qualities in him; but every thing in him is himself: and the faculties of the soul are but a resemblance of the Persons of God.

4.  
Of the difference be-  
twixt facul-  
ties and  
passions.

*Soc.* How come you to make but three faculties in the soul? you may make three hundred if you will. Why do not you make every passion a distinct faculty? And so of the attributes of God, you may make them all persons; one of wisdom, another of justice, another of mercy, another of power, and so forth.

*Chr.* The faculties are the powers of the soul itself, and of perpetual necessity to its constitution; so that without these the soul would not be a soul: therefore they are always in the soul. Not so of the passions; they go and come: a man is not always in joy, grief, fear, anger, &c. but he always has an understanding, a memory, and a will, and it is as

these are conversant about any object that the passions arise: the faculties are the constitution, the passions the complexion of the soul: the complexion often changes; but when the constitution is broke, it is death; and the complexion arises from the constitution, not the constitution from the complexion.

Now though the passions are many and various, yet the faculties are but three, and they can be neither more nor less.

The difference betwixt these is like that of colour and dimensions in a body: the colours are many and various, the dimensions are but three, and can be neither more nor less; that is, length, breadth, and thickness; these must be in every extension; they are of the nature of extension, and therefore inseparable from it: and though these three make one extension, yet they are perfectly distinguished, though never separated from one another. Length is not breadth, and neither of them is thickness; yet no one of these can be without the other two: they are distinctly three, yet entirely but one; they all make up but one and the selfsame extension.

5.  
Of extension and the dimensions.

The colours change according to every variation of the light; but the dimensions are still the same, and still necessary to the body; which alters not in its nature from the change of colours in it, but would cease to be a body, if it were possible it could want any of the three dimensions; for then it would be no longer an extension, that is, no more a body.

Thus we say of the soul: it could not be a soul if it wanted any of the three faculties, for they are



of its nature; but the passions may go and come without any alteration in the nature of the soul. The passions suppose the faculties, for the passions are an operation of the faculties; but the faculties suppose no more than that we are capable of the passions, not that they are always necessary to us, for sometimes we are without any.

And our blessed Saviour, in the parable of the sower, describing the several ways by which the seed becomes unfruitful, ranges them into three, according to the three faculties of the soul, but not after the passions, which are many. The first was of those who understand not; the second was of those who retain or remember not; and the third was of those whose wills or affections were corrupted through the cares and pleasures of this life.

6.  
Applied to  
the Persons  
and attri-  
butes of  
God.

Now this allusion betwixt the body and the mind, betwixt colours and dimensions in the body, and the faculties and passions in the soul, will not come up nor answer exactly in every thing, because of the vast difference there is in the natures of body and spirit, and the different manner of their operations. But though they fail in some things, yet they answer in others, and serve for illustration. And so much the more, because, while we are in the body, we conceive of spiritual things, even of our own soul, in some sort, after the manner of body. And if our own soul, by which we move and act and think, is so hidden from us that we cannot conceive rightly of it, how much more must the infinite and incomprehensible nature be removed far above our poor understanding! seeing we cannot conceive any thing of it but by allusion to what we understand here of ourselves, and other creatures that are



before us. Therefore such allusions are given to us, and God speaks to us of himself after the manner of men, because we could not otherwise understand any thing at all of him. Thus God ascribes passions to himself, as joy, anger, grief, repentance, &c. And we describe him by what we call his attributes, as power, wisdom, goodness, justice, &c. And these we conceive to flow from his nature. Though at the same time our reason tells us, that there can be no accidents in God, nor any change in him; and therefore that whatever is in God, is God: but by the three Persons in the Godhead we mean the divine nature, which consists of the three Persons as the soul does of the three faculties, and extension of the three dimensions, without any confusion of the faculties or dimensions; or division of the soul, or of the extension; as we say the three Persons are God, neither confounding the Persons nor dividing the substance. But what we call the attributes of God are the different manners of our apprehension of the actions of God, and so are many and various; as passions are in men and colours in bodies. But colours do not make the body in which they are, though they suppose it; and passions do not make the soul, though they are in it: but the faculties are the soul, and the dimensions are the extension. Thus we say the Persons in the Godhead are God, but we conceive of the attributes of God after the manner of passions in the soul; though we know at the same time that the allusion does not, cannot answer; but we cannot conceive otherwise of God. And thus it is when we use the words Father, Son, Spirit, Person, in relation to God, we must not suppose them to quadrate and answer to these words as

used among men ; they are only allusions, but they are necessary, because we cannot otherwise speak of God at all.

7.  
These con-  
clusive to  
the argu-  
ment.

Hence appears the unreasonableness of inferring a contradiction in the nature of God from what we find to be so in the nature of man, and in these words as applied to man ; which is the topic I have insisted upon from the beginning. And I have illustrated it by the comparison of those irreconcilable contradictions which must appear to a man born blind, in any description possible to be given him of the nature, motion, and progress of sight. And you cannot help him with any allusion or image of it in any thing that he understands. He can apprehend nothing like it, in any manner whatsoever, though at never so great a distance. It cannot be said he has a wrong or imperfect notion of it, for he has not nor can have any notion of it at all, not the least glimpse. Whereas on the other hand, as to the present subject we are upon, and to which I apply this, though it be impossible for any creature to have a full and complete apprehension of the infinite nature, yet there are such allusions and similitudes given us of it, chiefly in the soul of man, which is said to be made after his image, as enables us to have some sort of idea and apprehension of it, though we must still suppose at infinite distance, and that we presume not to draw inferences from the one to the other, from man to God. And even as to that ineffable mystery of the holy Trinity, there is no obscure resemblance of it given us in the frame of our own soul, consisting of three distinct faculties, as I have before explained it. And even in the three dimensions which make up every

extension, so far as body is capable of such a resemblance; at least it solves the contradictions you allege as to the holy Trinity, when we see how three may be one, even in bodies: nay, that one must be three; for extension could not be extension, if it were not three dimensions; as the soul could not be a soul, if it were not understanding, memory, and will; so that the multiplicity makes the unity. Though, as I have said, if these were contradictions in body, or in our soul, it would not follow it was so in God, because of the infinite disparity of the natures.

I have said likewise, that we cannot apprehend the nature of a spirit, even of our own soul, but by allusion to body, to something material. Hence some have contended that our soul is matter, that is, a body; nay, that God himself is so; that there is nothing but matter. And yet we find many contradictions in this allusion: as what I mentioned before of the presence of a body, which is so circumscribed that it cannot be in two places at once. And yet how one and the same soul can actuate all the distant members of the body, without being either multiplied or divided among them, is what we can find no resemblance of in bodies. And yet we cannot frame a conception of a soul without allusion to something material. And yet, all this notwithstanding, we charge not this as a contradiction in soul, because we find it so in body; though all our notices of the soul come from the body.

Now to apply: The imperfect notices we have of the nature of God come from his works of creation which we have seen; yet in none of these do we find any resemblance to his eternity, self-existence,

8.  
Allusions from body to soul necessary; yet many contradictions in them.

9.  
Applied to our present subject.



and omnipresence, &c.; nay, they would be flat contradictions if applied to any creature: yet we call them not contradictions in God; how then can we call three and one a contradiction in God, though we found it so in all creatures? But when we find it not to be a contradiction, both in the nature of body and of soul, will we still make it a contradiction in God, whose nature we understand not, and for this only cause reject the plain revelations that are given to us of it?

10.  
We must  
think of  
three in  
every spi-  
rit.

But pray, let me ask you, what notion have you of any spirit, of an angel? can you apprehend an angel without an understanding, a memory, and a will? can you think otherwise of God the Father of spirits, and who made them after his own image? there cannot be a thought without these three, for every thought is the act of these three. We have no nearer an idea of God than an omnipotent mind; and whose thoughts are omnipotent: therefore God must be these three, and these three are God. Our notion of his attributes are the acts of these three, mercy, wisdom, power, truth, justice, &c. And since there is no accident in God, but every thing that is in him must be of his essence, consequently these three are of the essence of God; and each of them is God, and all three the same God. So that instead of this being a contradiction, it would rather be a contradiction if it were not so: that is, that there could be a thought without what is of the essence of a thought, that it should proceed from three jointly, from an understanding, a memory, and a will, each distinct from the other, yet all three one and the same mind. So that if we think of God after the image he has made of himself, (and we can think of



him no otherwise,) we must think of a Trinity in Unity.

At least I hope what I have said is sufficient to take away all pretence of contradiction in the case, so as to hinder us to believe the revelation God has given us of it.

*Soc.* Whether God has given us any revelation of it, is the grand question which must be determined when we come to examine those texts of scripture which are alleged for it. But we insist it is a contradiction, and therefore that these texts must not be understood in that sense.

V.  
If the Trinity were a contradiction, that would prove it not to be of human invention.

*Chr.* If it be not a revelation, it must be an invention of some or other; but if it be a contradiction, it could not be an invention. For who could invent a contradiction? or if he could, who would do it with a design to have it pass upon the world, and to be received among mankind? When men have a mind to impose upon others, they contrive their story as plausible as possibly they can; to be free, not only from contradiction, but objection.

In the next place, what does any man get by it? what end could it serve, to set up such a notion in the world? Men generally have some prospect of advantage when they would impose upon others.

*Soc.* Who invented transubstantiation? which you as well as we think a contradiction, that one and the same body should be in many places at the same time.

I.  
The objection as to transubstantiation solved.

*Chr.* First, it was not purely an invention; for I believe that could never have come into the head of a man of itself. It was but grafting upon some very high expressions in the Fathers, concerning the great

mystery in the holy sacrament, which they mistook, and thence were led to take the words, *This is my body*, strictly according to the letter. Whereas they were plainly figurative; and there are several other figures in the words of institution of the holy sacrament which they cannot deny, as where the cup is put for the wine; which is the figure we call *contiens pro contento*; where the thing that contains is put for what is contained in it. And again, the present is used for the future, Luke xxii. 20. *This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you*. Whereas this was spoke before his blood was shed. There *is* is put for *shall be*; which is another figure of speech. Then, *This cup is the new testament*; another plain figure. Men may run themselves into contradictions in pursuit of an argument, but none can invent a contradiction.

*Soc.* This is the same we say of you; that the contradictions you run into arise from your mistake of those texts which you allege for the Trinity, which we say you take too literally.

*Chr.* But you cannot shew the figure; there are no figurative expressions: this we shall see plainly when we come to them. So that if there be a contradiction, it must be in the words, not in what we infer from them.

Secondly, we put no new construction upon them, but the same that was taught in the whole Christian church from the beginning, which likewise I shall shew you: whereas, in the case of transubstantiation, we shew the novel construction they have put upon the words, contrary to the sense of all antiquity. This is unanswerably done in Bishop Cosins's History of Transubstantiation.

Thirdly, there is no temptation in the world to set up the doctrine of the Trinity; but there was a very great one in that of transubstantiation, of reverence, and even adoration to the priesthood, to think that four words pronounced by a priest should make God.

But, fourthly, there are contradictions in transubstantiation which cannot be alleged in the doctrine of the Trinity: for example, that I should disbelieve my senses upon the credit of a revelation made to my senses; which is, to believe and not to believe my senses at the same time: if I believe the revelation, I must disbelieve my senses; and yet unless I believe my senses I cannot believe the revelation. They who were present at the institution must believe their senses, that it was Christ who spoke to them, and that they heard such words: yet they must not believe their senses, that it was bread and wine which they saw and tasted; but that they eat and swallowed the very Person whom they saw sit whole and entire before them, and who was then discoursing with them!

*Soc.* And does not the doctrine of the Trinity contradict our senses as much as all this?

*Chr.* No, not at all; it contradicts none of our outward senses. Pray which of them does it contradict? is it our seeing, taste, or smell?

*Soc.* None of these can reach to it.

*Chr.* No, nor to our soul; they can neither touch, see, nor smell it: a spirit is not the object of outward sense, therefore no contradiction to it; it is above it, and of another kind. But an outward revelation is an appeal to our outward senses; and without the truth of our senses supposed, we could

believe neither revelation nor miracle exhibited to our senses: and no miracle that ever God wrought, or revelation that he gave, did contradict any one of our senses, much less all together; for, as I said, it would be a perfect contradiction to our believing them.

And as you Socinians make use of this of transubstantiation to shew that Christians believe contradictions, and compare those you suppose in the Trinity with this; so the church of Rome insists mainly upon this against us, why we should make such difficulty in believing transubstantiation since we believe the Trinity, which they and you say implies as many contradictions as the other.

2.  
No allusion  
or parallel  
in nature  
to transub-  
stantiation.

And I will add this to what I have said, that there is not any thing in nature which bears the least resemblance or likeness to transubstantiation, that we might be able to frame any sort of notion of it: whereas God has given us several allusions and images of his holy Trinity, in as near proportion as finite can bear to infinite, chiefly in the frame of our own soul; whereby, though we cannot come to a clear and full perception of his nature, for that is impossible; yet we see so much of him in the glass of his creatures as to give us some idea of him, and to solve what is revealed to us of him from being contradictions, by comparing it with the likeness, though faint, that is found of it in creatures. But transubstantiation is the very reverse to nature, and all natural things; not only above them, but stands in direct opposition to them, and leaves nothing certain, no, not our senses. And what then can be like to it?

3.  
Compared

The Lutherans endeavour to get clear of this,



who take the words of institution, *this is my body*,<sup>with consubstantiation.</sup> as literally as the church of Rome does; but they deny not the certainty of our senses, and own that it is true and real bread and wine which we see, smell, and taste. But then there is no resemblance in nature, nor ground in reason, and as little in revelation, that two bodies should be consubstantiated under the accidents of one of them, and which are not accidents proper for the other: in which, though there is not a deception of the senses as to the bread and wine, yet there is as to the body and blood of a man, which if hid under the accidents of bread, my senses are deceived; for they have no other way to distinguish substances but by the accidents proper to them: and when I eat a piece of bread, my sight, touch, smell, and taste, inform me that it is not flesh; which if it be, they have all deceived me, and I can be certain of nothing in the world.

Besides, the Lutheran notion gives ubiquity to body as well as that of transubstantiation; which is a contradiction to the nature of body, which must be circumscribed, else there could not be a greater or a lesser body.

So that upon the whole consubstantiation is very little removed from transubstantiation.

*Soc.* But was not consubstantiation the invention of Luther? so you see men may invent contradictions.

*Chr.* That will not follow; for Luther was bred up under transubstantiation; in which finding absurdities, he thought to mend them by this new-coined distinction. I grant that men may invent distinctions, and upon examination they may be found contradictory, which themselves might not

see at first ; but that is not parallel to the inventing a downright flat contradiction in terms, without ground or foundation, or any previous principles leading to it ; as it would be in your notion of the Trinity if it was invented, and, as I said, without any temptation, or serving any end or purpose in the world. If there was no foundation for such a thing in reason, as you say, nor any revelation of it, how could it have come into the head of any man living ?

VI.  
Allusions  
and paral-  
lels neces-  
sary in our  
contempla-  
tion of the  
nature of  
God.

*Soc.* Do you think there is any thing in reason for it ? or that all your allusions and parallels will prove it ?

*Chr.* I bring them not for proof, but to clear our way towards the proof, which is the revelation of it in holy scripture ; and to take off your objection and great prejudice towards the receiving that proof, which is, your conceit of contradiction in the thing, and which blinds your eyes against the proof, let it be never so plain.

Yet this I will say on behalf of allusions and parallels in the present case, that they are not only useful, but necessary ; for we cannot otherwise come at any notion or apprehension of God at all : his being, in itself, is far exalted above all created understanding ; therefore we cannot come at it directly, it is light inaccessible, and would strike us blind. We must know it then by the reflection of it in creatures, like beholding the sun in water, which is too bright for our eyes to look upon, without some means to darken its rays.

And God discovers himself to us by such allusions ; for how could he do it otherwise ? He calls himself our King and our Father ; is it not lawful

then to contemplate him under such allusions, when it is impossible for us to do it otherwise? We come at the knowledge of him by those images of himself which he has created in us: he has planted wisdom in our hearts, and a foresight or providence in managing our own affairs, as likewise justice and mercy, and other noble endowments; thence we frame our notions of his infinite wisdom, power, providence, &c. And we can have no notion of him at all but by allusion to what he has created in us; all the rest is clouds and thick darkness to us.

Therefore I have insisted upon these parallels and allusions, to shew that there is an image and resemblance of his holy Trinity imprinted in our very souls as well as in bodies, so far as they are capable of it; but still with that distance and disproportion that must necessarily be supposed betwixt finite and infinite.

Having said thus much to remove your prejudice, I will go on, and shew you yet further parallels, whereby we may rise up higher, as on a ladder, and view more of the perfection of God by that image of it which he has impressed upon creatures.

VII.  
Self-reflection  
an  
image of  
the holy  
Trinity.

To be beneficial to others is an image of God, from whom all good things do come: this is expressed in the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars, and their influence upon the earth; but they are not sensible of it, nor have any pleasure and happiness in it: the sun shines to others, not to himself.

It is then a nearer image of God to know when we do good, and to take pleasure and satisfaction in it; to do it voluntarily, and when it was in our power not to do it; whereby it becomes our act,



and we gain the name of benefactors; and rejoice in it, as God did in his works, and saw they were very good: we by this partake of the happiness we give to others.

But there is an higher degree of happiness still, and a yet nearer image of God, and that is, when we ourselves are made the object of our own benefactions, as I may so call it: when we can do good to ourselves, and can taste our own happiness, can rejoice and take pleasure in ourselves. This is the nearest to us of any thing; and this joy no man can take from us, no stranger can intermeddle with it: this is performed in us by what we call self-reflection, whereby we become the object of our own knowledge and love: and this is reciprocal in us; we are the person knowing, and the person that is known; the person that loves, and the person that is loved: and this could not be done but by the operation of several faculties in the soul, which are an image of the several Persons in the Deity: and the original of this self-reflection is a reflex act of the understanding, the father faculty, as has been before discoursed: and this resembles the Father, the Fountain (as I may so say) of the Deity.

In this consists the essential happiness of God, in the knowledge and love of himself; and this reflected perfectly from one Person of the Godhead to another; which is infinitely more complete than the shadow of it in the reciprocal reflection of the faculties in our soul: but a shadow and image of it it is; and without which we should not be able to have the least glimpse or apprehension of the other.



This leads me to another step up this ladder, which necessarily follows from what has been said, or is rather but a further prosecution of it.

VIII.  
Of the fecundity in the Deity.

We all agree that whatever perfection is in man must be much more eminently in God, from whom it came.

Now to the happiness there is in thought, there is a further added, which is, to communicate that thought to another; without this, the soul would be a very solitary thing, and would grow weary of itself in a little time, as we find it when we are left too long alone. Without conversation life would be a burden; who would be content to live, if there were never a man left in the world but himself? This communication of thought is done among men by words: whence, in compliance to our manner of apprehension, the Son is likewise called *the Word of God*. Self-reflection is very properly called *the word of the mind*: and this Word was the first communication which God gave of himself. He is also called *the Word*, as he was the instrument by which God made all things, and communicated himself to creatures: whence the creation is described as being all spoken; *he spake the word, and it was done; he commanded, and they were created. God said, Let there be light, &c.* And *by his word were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.* So the Son is called *the Word*, in respect of God's communicating himself to himself, and likewise of his communicating himself to creatures.

But there is another communication beyond the communication of thoughts by words, and that is, to communicate one's self, our whole nature, full

and entire ; to produce one's like, in full perfection as one's self ; thus we see trees spring from trees, beasts, fish, and fowl, and man, propagate their kind ; and shall God, who gave fertility to creatures, be barren himself ? *He that made the eye, does he not see ?* And is not the fertility of creatures an image of a much more eminent fecundity in God ? as he says, Isa. lxvi. 9. according to the Vulgar translation : *Numquid ego qui alias parere facio, ipse non pariam ? dicit Dominus. Si ego, qui generationem cæteris tribuo, sterilis ero ? ait Dominus Deus tuus.* That is, *Shall not I, who cause others to bring forth, bring forth myself ? saith the Lord. If I give to others the power of generation, shall I be barren myself ? saith the Lord thy God.* Since therefore the communication of one's nature is a perfection, it is of necessity that God must have it. For it is a maxim in philosophy, that *Nemo dat quod non habet* ; “ None can give what he has not.”

Besides, the former argument includes this ; for God could not communicate his thoughts without communicating also his nature ; that is, he could not communicate all of his thoughts, except to what was capable to receive them : and nothing but infinite can contain infinite : and it being natural to goodness to delight in communicating itself, consequently God must be deprived of the plenitude of this perfection, if there were not a person capable of receiving all his goodness ; else God must be stinted in this greatest of happiness ; as a river could not empty itself, unless there were a place to receive it, and so would cease to be a river.

And thus, unless there were different persons in

God, there would be a contradiction in all his attributes. There would be infinite power without power to exert itself infinitely; which is a flat contradiction: and so of infinite love, wisdom, &c.

*Soc.* Whatever there may be in these reasons for two Persons in the Godhead, the one to contain and receive all of the other, yet what can you say for a third? what need is there of that?

<sup>1.</sup>  
Of a third  
Person in  
the Trinity.

*Chr.* First, that it is revealed, which we are to see; in the next place, by the image God has given us of himself in our own soul, we have seen already that the soul is not complete, nor can act, without three faculties, and no two of them can act without the third. And to apply this, the communication of infinite power and wisdom (which are represented in the two first faculties of our mind) cannot be supposed without an infinite reciprocal love betwixt these persons: and there being no accident in God; but whatever is in God is God; consequently the reciprocal love (to which answers the third faculty of the soul) which unites these two Persons must be a Person too, and God, for it must be infinite. And there is an image of this in human production wherein there must be just three persons, neither more nor less, that is, father, mother, and child. Which names God uses in relation to himself; therefore we may use them. Thus the son of Sirach uses them Eccles. xxiv. where he speaks of the second Person by the name of Wisdom; and as that Word of God he introduceth him saying, ver. 5, *I came out of the mouth of the most High, firstborn before all creatures. I caused the light, &c.*; and so speaks of the other works of creation, all of which he ascribes to himself: then says, ver. 20,



*I am the mother of beautiful love.* This is the third Person of the holy Trinity. But more of this when we come to the texts of scripture.

2.  
Why but  
one pro-  
duction in  
the Deity.

*Soc.* If the divine nature should repeat this production of persons, then you might have as many persons in the divine nature as in the human, and consequently as many Gods as men.

*Chr.* Your conception is gross. For, first, three Persons in the divine nature does not make three Gods, more than three faculties make three souls, as we have discoursed before. But, secondly, there cannot be another production in the divine nature more than there can be another divine nature; for the three Persons are of the essence of the divine nature, as the three faculties are of the soul, therefore unchangeable and unalterable. And as to the argument I have proceeded upon, of infinite communication from one to another, if it be infinite, it can be no more: and to infinite production nothing can be added; but human productions may be oft repeated, because they are all finite; therefore additions and additions may be made to them: from all which follows,

First, That an infinite power without an infinite production is a contradiction; for it supposes infinity to be limited.

Secondly, That there can be no infinite production but in the presence of the blessed Trinity.

Thirdly, That an infinite production cannot be repeated, because it would add to infinite, and make more infinites.

*Soc.* The heathen philosophers might have talked at this rate: how came they not to find out a Trinity as well as you?



*Chr.* They did talk at this rate; and did hold a Trinity in the Godhead, as I shall shew you by and by, when we come to that head.

*Soc.* But your St. Athanasius the Creedmaker will not only have us believe all this, but takes upon him to determine the very manner forsooth, as if he knew it, how all this is done, that “the Father is “neither created nor begotten; the Son not created, “but begotten; the Holy Ghost neither created nor “begotten, but proceeding.”

3.  
The second  
Person be-  
gotten, the  
third pro-  
ceeding.

*Chr.* You Socinians pretend of all men to argue without passion and personal reflections, but fairly and upon the square, keeping close to the argument; and have been proposed as a pattern for this by some that loved you better than they knew you: for none have exceeded you in bitterness and foul language; even in this brief history we are now upon, the common epithets you bestow upon Christians are, *ignorant, brutal, stupid, without common sense, &c.* Hence came your witticism in your Brief Notes upon St. Athanasius’s Creed, whom you call Sathanasius and Creedmaker there and in other of your books; and please yourselves with this profane jest and contempt cast upon that great and learned champion of Christianity.

But to leave your dirt. You charge very unjustly upon him the inventing of these terms and distinctions; he followed the same terms used in holy scripture, and by the catholic church, before him. The terms of *Father* and *Son*, and the Son being called *the only begotten of the Father*, you cannot be ignorant, are scripture phrases. But the word *begotten* is never applied to the Holy Ghost, but

the word *proceeding* is, as John xv. 26. *The Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father.*

*Soc.* But you say he proceedeth from both Father and Son.

4.  
The Holy  
Ghost pro-  
ceedeth  
from the  
Father and  
the Son.

*Chr.* Then he proceedeth from the Father ; if he proceeds from both, he proceeds from each. And in the same text the Son takes upon him to send the Holy Ghost jointly with the Father : *The Comforter—whom I will send unto you from the Father.* And, chap. xiv. 13, 14, *He shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear that shall he speak.* And from whom shall he hear? even from the Son ; who saith, *He shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you.* Does he not receive it likewise of the Father? Yes ; for Christ saith, in the next verse, *All things that the Father hath are mine ; therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you.* Here the Father is made the fountain, from whom the Son receives all the whole of the Father, all that the Father hath ; and the Holy Ghost receives the same all from the Father and Son, and he is called the Spirit of God, and the Spirit of Christ ; as, Rom. viii. 9. *If so be the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.* And, Gal. iv. 6, *God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts.* And he could not be called the Spirit of the Son any otherwise than as proceeding from the Son ; so that it is evident he proceeds from both Father and Son ; and he is called the Spirit of each, that is, of both.

And to this answers the parallel I have before mentioned of the three faculties in the soul ; for the

understanding is the fountain or father faculty, whence the memory receives all that it has, and may be called its son; and the will receives from both, and proceeds from both.

*Soc.* But why do you say the one is *begotten*, the other *proceeding*? where is the difference? 5.  
Of the  
terms be-  
getting and  
proceeding.

*Chr.* This is entering too far into the mystery of God; or to expect that parallels should hold in every thing: we are to follow the expressions of holy scripture. But yet we are not left wholly destitute even in this point. We have discoursed before, sect. vii. of self-reflection in the soul; and that this is the generation of spirits: and that this is an act of the understanding, the father faculty, by which it begets its own similitude and likeness in the memory by its own internal power and fecundity; so that the memory may be called a second understanding: but the memory is no reflective faculty, it only preserves what the understanding has committed to it; and the will determines itself only as to like or dislike; and therefore may be said to proceed, rather than to be begotten: and the more because the will acts perfectly voluntarily, though, as we say, it must follow the ultimate dictate of the understanding; but that is not by way of force, but choice; for the will does every thing by choice.

*Soc.* But who can think of this diversity of Persons in God without a breach of his unity? It makes him as it were compounded of the three Persons, whereas we know God to be a Being that is most simple and one in his nature, and cannot be compounded or made up of any thing. IX.  
Of the uni-  
ty of God.

*Chr.* God is not compounded or made up of any thing; his unity is the most perfect of all unities.



But in every unity there is an union of something, and that must be divers things, for there is no union of one.

1.  
The unity  
of bodies.

This unity in bodies is by way of composition: for every body is compounded of other bodies, which are parts of that body, as a brick is part of an house, and my finger is part of my body; and there are several parts in my finger, and parts of those parts again, and so without end: and these parts may be divided the one from the other; and other parts may be added to them, and the body made bigger: so that every body is many bodies, that are compounded and put together.

2.  
The unity  
of spirits.

But it is far otherwise in the unity of a spirit; for a spirit is not compounded, or made up of parts, and therefore cannot be divided; it is not capable of addition or multiplication. We say not that our soul is multiplied or divided among its three faculties, or that it is compounded of them; they cannot be taken from it as a part may be taken from a body; therefore its unity is more perfect than that of a body: it consists not of several parts, though it does of several faculties: we call not the faculties parts of the soul; they are rather powers of the soul; essential powers by which it acts, and without which it could not act at all, nor be a soul.

3.  
Applied to  
God.

These powers of the soul bear a nearer resemblance to the Persons of God, which are essential to the Godhead, without which it could not act; it could not have a reciprocal knowledge and love of itself, nor enjoy its own blessedness, nor communicate it fully, as has been said, and consequently must be stinted and limited in the greatest of happiness.



Yet these Persons are not parts of God, nor is he compounded of them, or either multiplied or divided among them: but the whole Deity, flowing perpetually, in its full infinity, from one Person to another, is in the eternal enjoyment of its own beatitude blessed for ever in itself; in so perfect an unity as can be but faintly represented in the unity of any creature, even of a soul.

*Soc.* But is there not a mutual communication of spirits? does not one spirit join with another and partake of it, as bodies do?

X.  
Of the mutual communication of spirits.

*Chr.* Yes surely, and in much more intimate manner than bodies. All the enjoyment and satisfaction in the union of bodies is from the union of their souls; this is what we call *love*. Without this, bodies are insensible of their union, and can take no pleasure or satisfaction in it, as in the production of trees, plants, flowers, &c.

And the union of souls is stronger the less of corporal is mixed with it; therefore friendship is the strongest tie among men. This is the chief cement of conjugal affection; where that is wanting it is a yoke indeed, and upon the comparison the preference is given to friendship: Deut. xiii. 6. *If the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend, which is as thine own soul, entice thee, &c.;* and, 2 Sam. i. 26. *Thy love to me was wonderful,* (said David of Jonathan,) *passing the love of women.*

1.  
Stronger than that of bodies.

But the comparison of the union there is in flesh and that which is between spirits is carried much higher by the apostle, (1 Cor. vi. 16, 17.) *For two, saith he, shall be one flesh, but he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit:* to be one spirit with God, and that more nearly than man and wife are one

flesh: this seems to be one of those unspeakable things which St. Paul says *are not lawful* (or possible) *for a man to utter*, 2 Cor. xii. 4.

2.  
Allusions  
to this in  
holy scrip-  
tures.

But this must be the foundation of those frequent allusions in holy scripture, where Christ is called the Bridegroom, and the church his spouse, and heaven is described as the eternal marriage feast. And he having taken our nature into the Deity in his own Person, what communications thence may be given even to our bodies when glorified, by our participation of the same human nature with Christ, is *what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor can enter into the heart of man to conceive*. *That they all* (says Christ, John xvii. 21, 22, 23.) *may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us.—And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me*. These are wonderful expressions, and lead our thoughts to what we cannot comprehend! but they plainly import, that by our union with Christ, who has united himself to our nature, we shall partake of an union with God, even like to the union of Christ with him, who partakes likewise of his divine nature; as the apostle speaks, 2 Pet. i. 4. *Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that you might be partakers of the divine nature*. An earnest of which was given in the miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost, like that at our Saviour's baptism; whereby we are (as it may be said) put into possession of the holy Spirit of God; as the

same apostle speaks, 1 Pet. i. 12.—*with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, which things the angels desire to look into*; or to pry narrowly into them, παρακίψαι; to stoop down and look earnestly, as St. John into the sepulchre, John xx. 5, παρακίψας; or else to bow themselves, in adoration of so great a mystery.

St. Paul, speaking how intimately we are united to Christ, says, Eph. v. 30, *We are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones*. And he takes this from allusion to the production of Eve out of Adam, whereupon Adam said, Gen. ii. 23, *This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh*. And the inference is made in the next words, *Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh*: which the apostle repeats, Eph. v. 31, immediately after his words before quoted; *We are members of his* (Christ's) *body, of his flesh, and of his bones. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh: this is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the church*. Here is the parallel closely carried on betwixt the union there is in our marriages, and that much more intimate union in our marriage with Christ; and, in him, with the whole blessed Trinity; which the apostle calls *the great mystery*.

Therefore let none despise the use of parallels, which are so frequent in holy scripture. By these we are led to the knowledge of God, and the great mystery of our redemption, and future enjoyment of God. We see indeed by these but as in a glass, darkly; but without these we should know much

3.  
Use of parallels.



less, and not be able to frame to ourselves any ideas of it at all, or any but what would be much more erroneous. And since God in holy scripture has used this method with us, no doubt it is most proper, and the best we can use : we must ascend to God by the scale of his creatures ; we have no other way ; for we cannot see him as he is.

4.  
Adam a  
type of  
Christ.

Hence our partaking of the nature of Christ is made lively to us by what we know ; that is, our partaking of the nature of our parents, and so up to Adam. Hence, Rom. v. 14, Adam is called *the figure of him who was to come* ; and the parallel betwixt him and Christ is carried on to the end of that chapter. And, 1 Cor. xv. 21, *As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive*. And, ver. 45, *The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was a quickening Spirit*. And, ver. 47, *The first man is of the earth, earthy ; the second man is the Lord from heaven*.

Tertullian insists largely upon this parallel, (*de Resur. Carn.* c. 6.) and goes through every particular and circumstance of the formation of Adam, and shews how it all referred to Christ. He says, *Quodcunque enim limus exprimebatur, Christus cogitabatur homo futurus—ita limus ille jam tunc imaginem induens Christi futuri, non tantum Dei opus erat, sed et pignus* : i. e. “ Whatever the earth of “ Adam was made, Christ was meant by it, who “ should become man——so the earth then putting “ on the image of Christ to come in the flesh, was “ not only God’s workmanship, but his pledge ;” that is, that Christ should come in the flesh.

5.  
And Eve of  
the church,

And as Adam was a type of Christ, so was Eve of the church, which should bring forth children



unto God. And as the church is builded upon Christ, her rock and foundation, so was Eve made or builded (as our margin, after the Hebrew, reads Gen. ii. 22.) out of Adam. And as the church has no life but what she derives from Christ, so neither had Eve but what she derived from Adam; and the side of Christ was opened after his death, whence issued water and blood; of which he has given us two salutary sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper: by the first we are born again of water and the Holy Spirit, and made members of his church, which is his body; and by the second we are perpetually nourished with his blood into eternal life. Now these flowed not out of Christ's side till after he was dead; for till then he had not fully paid the price of our redemption, the *consummatum est* was not pronounced but with his last breath upon the cross; for till his death all was not finished: then came out the water and the blood, which are the life of his church; and the church, being then perfectly redeemed, may be said to be born, and taken out of his dead body. So it is said, Gen. ii. 21, *The Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept*: and while he was in this nearest image of death (and we must suppose it was more than an ordinary sleep which the Lord caused to fall upon him) his side was opened, and Eve was taken out of him.

And as it was said of the first Adam, that there was no help meet for him found among all the inferior creatures, therefore that God made an help meet for him out of his own flesh and blood; so was there no help meet for the second Adam among birds, fish, or fowl, but his delight was with the

children of men; and out of them he purchased a church with his own blood, to be an holy spouse unto him, and an help meet for him to bring forth children unto glory.

It cannot escape any body's observation, that the male and female of man were not created together, like those of the birds, fish, and fowl; but that the man was created alone, and afterwards his female was deduced out of him; and there is more circumstance and particularities told of this deduction of Eve out of Adam, than even of the formation of Adam out of the earth, or any other part of the creation. And in that very short history in Genesis of the times before the flood, it cannot be imagined so much of it should be taken up with this, if it were not a matter of the highest moment, and greatly to be regarded by us; and it appears the more to be so by the frequent allusions made to it in the New Testament, not only with relation to man and wife, but to Christ and his church.

XI.  
By the word  
*God* in holy  
scripture  
the whole  
blessed  
Trinity is  
meant.

*Soc.* Come, to have done with your allusions: if each of the three Persons in your supposed Trinity was *God*, then the word *God* would not in scripture be applied to one of them more than to another; but it is evident that generally through the scripture by the word *God* is meant *God the Father*, and him only. As to those particular texts wherein you allege it is applied to the other two Persons, we shall examine them by and by; but it would be always applied to them if each of them were *God*, as you say; why not always to them as well as to the Father?

*Chr.* It is not always given to the Father, as I shall shew you. But first take my direct answer:

that by the word *God* in holy scripture the whole Trinity of God is meant; and it must be so: for if the three Persons are of the nature of the Godhead, which we have already discoursed, then the word *God* must imply them all; as when we say, the soul of man, the three faculties, and each of them, is certainly meant.

*Soc.* But why then do you attribute creation to the Father, redemption to the Son, and sanctification to the Holy Ghost.

Particular acts attributed to each.

*Chr.* As we attribute one operation of the soul to the understanding, another to the memory, and another to the will; and yet they all three act in concert, and no one of them can act without the other, as has been plainly shewed before; and that thus it is in the Persons of the holy Trinity.

And to apply the parallel to your present objection: the understanding, which is the father faculty, has the name of soul given to it more commonly than either of the other two faculties: for example, when we describe a fool, a man of no understanding, it is common to say such an one has no soul, or, as Chrysippus in Tully said of the soul of a swine, that it served only as salt to keep his body from stinking: but we say not so of an obstinate man, or one of a perverse will, or of a man that has a treacherous memory; on the contrary, it is a saying, that the greatest wits have the shortest memories.

Thus the word *God* may sometimes be used to express God the Father; but, generally speaking, it means the Deity: and sometimes it is used in distinction even from the Father, as Col. ii. 2.—*The mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ.*

The word *God* sometimes distinguished from the Father.



And the Deity expressed by the Persons only.

And the Godhead is sometimes expressed without the word *God* at all, only by the Persons of the Godhead, as in the form of baptism which Christ commanded, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

And the word *Father* given to the Son.

And sometimes the term of *Father* is given to the Son, as Isaiah ix. 6, where Christ is called the *everlasting Father*: that was in relation to creatures; *For by him were all things made*, John i. 3.

XII.  
That the heathen had a notion of the Trinity as well as the Jews.

*Soc.* We will talk more of this when we come to examine these texts: but now, in the mean time, I must call upon you for what you promised, sect. viii. *of the Fecundity of God*; where you said, that even heathen philosophers have argued as you did, and had a notion of a Trinity of Persons in God from the fecundity of his nature.

*Chr.* This notion of the fecundity of God, made them describe God as male and female: thus Damascius repeats what old Orpheus taught of the Deity, Ἀρσενόθηλον αὐτὴν ὑπεστήσατο, πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς πάντων γεννητικῆς οὐσίας: “He made it male and female to shew the generative power of all things,” which they derived from it; or by which he made all things: and Proclus upon Timæus, p. 95, quotes this among other Orphic verses,

Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νόμφη.

Jupiter is a man, Jupiter is also an immortal woman.

It was very common among their mystic writers to style God ἀρρενόθηλον, that is, man and woman: and Synesius, a learned and pious Christian bishop, follows this form of expression in some of his hymns to God, as

Σὺ πατήρ, Σὺ δὲ ἔσσι μήτηρ,

Σὺ ἄρρην, Σὺ δὲ θήλυς.



“Thou art father, thou art mother.

“Thou art man, thou art woman.”

*Soc.* This goes but to two persons; it seems they thought not of a third.

*Chr.* That does not follow: Synesius, a bishop, did not think so, who uses the same expression; and he lived in the fourth century, when the doctrine of the Trinity was fully and every where established, by your own confession; and he could not then have been a bishop without acknowledging of it. Owning two persons does not deny the third: and the heathen philosophers held three supreme and almighty principles, which they called likewise persons, or hypostases, (which is the Greek for persons,) and that these act in conjunction, and made the world and all things.

*Soc.* I have heard indeed that there is a great deal of this in Plato; for the Defence of the Brief History of the Unitarians, which we are now upon, p. 5, and p. 17, speaks of three principles of Plato; and accuses the Ante-Nicene fathers for arguing so like Platonic philosophers, and says, that they followed the ideas of Plato concerning the three principles. And, p. 17, he tells us likewise, that the Jews had this notion of the Trinity, and quotes Philo for it, one of the most learned Jews.

*Chr.* These are large concessions: he has given us up the Ante-Nicene fathers, the Jews, and the heathens; but having started the objection, what answer does he give to it?

*Soc.* For the heathens he says, that the fathers finding fault with Plato's notion, brought into the world a new interpretation of the three principles: and for the Jews he says, “Must we believe Philo

“ Judæus rather than St. Paul? who plainly tells “ us, in direct opposition to Philo, that there is one “ God.”

*Chr.* And so said Philo; for the Jews acknowledged but one God: and St. Paul (who was contemporary with Philo) does not charge them with holding more than one God; so that in this there is no direct opposition, or any opposition at all betwixt St. Paul and Philo. You must shew then that St. Paul opposed him as to the three hypostases or persons.

And as to the heathen, we suppose not that they invented it, but learned it from the Jews. It is plain that Plato attained to the knowledge of the Jewish religion in Egypt; and several of the fathers have observed the agreement of his doctrine, in many things, with the Old Testament: whence Numenius the Pythagorean said of him, *Quid enim aliud est Plato, quam Moses Atticissans?* that is, “ that Plato was nothing else but Moses speaking “ at Athens:” and many of the fathers, as Justin Martyr, Clem. Alexandrinus, Eusebius, &c. have said, that Plato had penetrated into the mystery of the Trinity.

But these philosophers having got possession of the notion, did refine upon it by their philosophy, and fell into sundry errors; as they did about the notion of a God, and several other things which they had received by tradition from the beginning, but knew it not; as of marriage, sacrifice, priesthood, &c. instituted by God from the beginning of the world, and descended through the heathen as well as Jewish posterity of Adam; but the original of them was lost among those who had not the holy

scriptures to preserve the tradition: thus false religions came in, and were nothing else but a corruption of the true, at first instituted by God.

But still they retained so much of the stricture of it, as to shew from whence they came, and to be reducible into it again: and they stand in many points as witnesses to it, and confirmations of it; particularly where reason comes in, in aid of religion, as in our present case. The church having the revelation of the blessed Trinity, builds upon that, and is not obliged to go any further. But the heathen philosophers had no other way of proving it, but by reason; and some of them went very far in that, as we have seen, and may be helpful even to Christians in their contemplation of the divine mysteries. St. Augustin owns this in the seventh book of his Confessions, and professeth that the books of the philosophers were of great use to him, to help him to understand more easily some orthodox truths; and that he found in some of them almost all the beginning of the Gospel of St. John: which made Amelius, an heathen philosopher, say, when he read it, that that barbarian (as he called St. John) had stolen from their philosophers his notion of the *Λόγος*, or Word of God, being God, and one of the three first principles. *Euseb. Præpar. Evan.* p. 540. But we shall see more of this, when we come to consider that place in St. John; and likewise how the philosophers, but especially the ancient heretics, (the predecessors of the Socinians and Arians,) had corrupted the doctrine of the three first principles with the multitude and confusion of their æones, &c.

Therefore the apostles and fathers had reason to



give a new (which was nearer to the old) interpretation of the three first principles.

*Soc.* Let me know a little what the old notion of these three principles was, and when it began among the heathen.

*Chr.* I told you before, that it came down to them by immemorial tradition from the beginning, and therefore we cannot trace the beginning; but we can trace it so far, as to shew that it was no invention of the Christians. For Plato, who has so much of it, was born about four hundred and twenty-eight years before the birth of Christ. But the heathen did not ascribe the beginning of it to Plato, as if it were an invention of his: they said that Orpheus had it long before Plato, and the Chaldæans had it long before Orpheus; they looked upon it as coming down to them by old and long tradition, whose beginning they knew not. Plotinus speaking of these *τρεῖς ἀρχικὰς ὑποστάσεις*, “three chief Persons,” which sometimes they call Principles, says, *Μὴ καινὸς μὴ δὲ νῦν ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν εἰρησθαι*. “That this was not new, or then invented, but a tradition of old time.” And Proclus upon *Timæ.* *Plat.* calls this doctrine *ἡ τῶν τριῶν Θεῶν παράδοσις*, “the tradition of three Gods;” and *θεοπαράδοτος θεολογία*, “the doctrine or theology that was delivered or revealed by God.” They called these three sometimes three Principles, sometimes three Gods, sometimes three Natures, sometimes three Persons, *τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, and *τρεῖς φύσεις*. And it is not strange that they should fall into these varieties of expressions, wanting the true revelation of this great mystery, and consequently not tied up to that strictness of expression as we are. But they explained them-



selves so as to shew, that by these three they meant one only God : therefore they called this Trinity of Gods the τὸ Θεῖον, the Godhead, or nature of God ; as says their ancient oracle,

Παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριάς, ἧς μονὰς ἄρχει·

“ In all the world there shines a Trinity, of which an  
“ Unity is the head.”

This is inserted among the *Oracula Zoroastri in Platonicis Collecta*, p. 8. This treatise of Zoroaster’s is published by Franc. Patricius, at the end of his *Nova de Universis Philosophia*, fol. edit. Venet. an. 1593.

The heathen philosophy is full of this doctrine ; and they placed a gradual subordination of these three divine hypostases or persons : and from thence they argued that there was a necessity for these three hypostases to be in the nature of God ; and that they could be neither more nor less ; and that they must proceed from one another. Porphyry is quoted to this purpose by St. Cyril, cont. Jul. I. p. 34. edit. Paris. 1638, in fol. Πορφύριος γὰρ φησι, Πλάτωνος ἐκτιθέμενος δόξαν ἄχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν Θείου προελθεῖν αὐσίαν· that “ the divine nature does extend  
“ or communicate itself to the three hypostases or  
“ persons.” And Philo the Jew calls these three Persons, τὸ ὄν, δεσποτικόν, τὴν ἴλεω δύναμιν. *de Agric. Noæ*, lib. II. the first, *being* ; the second, *governing* or *preserving* ; the third, *love* or *beneficence* ; which is the very order in which we have discoursed of the three Persons. And Eusebius, in his *Præpar. Evangel.* p. 327, says, Οἱ πάντες Ἑβραίων θεολόγοι μετὰ τὸν πάντων Θεὸν καὶ μετὰ πρωτότοκον αὐτῷ Σοφίαν, τὴν τρίτην καὶ ἁγίαν δύναμιν Ἁγίου Πνεῦμα προσειπόντες, ἀποθειάζουσιν, ὕφ’ οὗ καὶ ἐφωτίζοντο θεοφορούμενοι ; that is, “ All the

“ Jewish divines, after the God of all, and his first-born Wisdom, do deify a third and holy power, which they call the Holy Ghost, of whom the inspired were enlightened.”

Grotius quotes some of their cabbalists, who call God three lights, and by the names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

And Ainsworth on Gen. i. recites out of one of their rabbies, that in the word Elohim there are three degrees, each distinct by itself; yet all one, joined in one, yet not divided from one another.

But more of this as to both Jews and heathens, when I come to shew you their notion of the Λόγος in explanation of John i. 1.

XIII.  
A short  
recapitula-  
tion.

*Soc.* You have begun with clearing contradiction out of the way as to the Trinity, that there is none in the terms wherein you express it, that is, of three persons in one nature. Secondly, that we cannot infer contradiction from one nature to another, unless we understand both; which you have exemplified in the instance of a man born blind, of the different manner of the presence of soul and body, &c. Thirdly, you have drawn parallels as to those particulars wherein we charge contradiction in your notion of the Trinity, chiefly from the three faculties in the soul of man. Fourthly, you have endeavoured to prove, even by reason, the diversity of persons in God, from the necessity of infinite power having an infinite scope wherein to exert itself; whence you have inferred what you call the fecundity of God; and supported it with several parallels which are made use of in scripture. And, lastly, to remove the prejudice of the Trinity being an invention of the Christians, and likewise to reconcile it

more to our reason, you have produced testimonies from the heathens as well as the Jews, to shew that the same notion had been with them all along, and descended to them from the first revelation given to Adam.

And all this, I suppose, you intended to facilitate my understanding the texts we are to discourse of in your sense, and the commonly received notion, and not to strain them, as you say we do, from the plain and genuine meaning of the words; and which, you say, we would not do, but from the necessity we think lies upon us to avoid contradiction: and now, I suppose, you think the way is open to enter upon the consideration of the texts in scripture, which must determine the point.

But there is another point involved with that of the Trinity, wherein you and we as much differ; that is, what you call the incarnation, that the divine and human natures should be both joined in one person; and among the texts we are to discuss, several refer to this. Therefore, before we begin with the texts, let me know if you have any parallel or illustration of this, to remove my prejudice (as you call it) from this sense of these texts too; and then we have done with parallels.

*Chr.* I will give you that in the words of the Creed of St. Athanasius, that “as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ.” Now there are no two things in the world so different as the natures of body and soul; hardly any thing, except that of being, agrees to both. Yet how are they united, so as both to make but one person! and the parting of them is the destruction of the person; and even while they remain united,

Parallel of  
two natures  
in Christ.



their natures and properties are no ways confounded or blended together; the soul partakes nothing at all of the nature of the body, nor the body of the nature or properties of the soul; but both remain, though united, distinct and entire, each in its own nature and properties; yet the properties of either are attributed to the person that is composed of both. Thus man is said to eat, drink, sleep, &c. whereas these belong only to the body. He is said likewise to understand, remember, love, or hate; and these belong only to the soul: thus when Christ suffered, God is said to suffer, to *shed his blood, to die for us*, Acts xx. 28. 1 John iii. 16; though this could not belong to the divine nature of Christ. He is likewise called *the mighty God, the everlasting Father*, Isa. ix. 6; and that *all things were created by him*, Col. i. 16; which could not belong to his human nature, but both and either are spoke of his person, in which both natures are united; and this shews him to be both God and man, since the properties of both natures are attributed to him.

*Soc.* By what links and chains can God and man be joined together, so as to make one person?

*Chr.* I cannot tell you; nor how God does communicate of himself to creatures; *In him we live and move and have our being*; the being of every creature is a communication of God.

*Soc.* But how can the same person be finite and infinite? does not this imply a contradiction?

*Chr.* How can the same person be mortal and immortal? does not this imply a contradiction? but it is none while it is not spoken of the same thing; it is spoken of the same person, but not of the same nature. Thus we say of the same man, that he is



mortal, and likewise that he is immortal; but the one is spoken in relation to his soul, the other to his body. And can any man tell the links and chains by which mortal and immortal, by which spirit and flesh are joined together, so as to make but one and the same person? These things we cannot explain in ourselves; and would we explain them in God, whose power is infinite? and what is impossible with men is easy to God, for with him all things are possible.

*Soc.* But can the Godhead be converted into any thing else than what it is? that would argue mutability in God; how then can the Godhead be converted into the manhood?

*Chr.* The Godhead is not converted into the manhood, as the soul is not converted into the body in the union of our persons: therefore the Creed of St. Athanasius says, that “God and man are one in the person of Christ; not by the conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking the manhood into God.”

*Soc.* I see that Athanasius went upon parallels as well as you: but you urge parallels no further than as illustrations, to remove our prejudice from taking the scriptures in your sense, therefore the scriptures must determine the cause; and now let us come to them.

*Chr.* There is another preliminary necessary to be settled, in order to our right understanding of the holy scriptures; and that is, in what sense we shall take them: all words are equivocal, and capable of different meanings, either literal or figurative; and for us to set our fancies on work what this or that word may be screwed to, and to put our own inven-

XVI.

The current sense of the church the best interpreter of the holy scriptures.

tions upon them, is endless, and of no certainty when we have done: who would build his faith upon the criticism of a lexicon? though I deny not but there is use for this sort of learning too in its place, and many times it serves to illustrate and clear up things very much.

But the ground and foundation we have to go upon, in disputed places of holy scripture, is the sense in which they to whom they were delivered did understand them; they who learned the doctrines from the mouths of the apostles as well as from their writings. These surely must best know the meaning of these writings; and then, again, they to whom these taught them; and so on through the several ages of the church. And considering that the gospel was preached, before the apostles left the world, in most countries of the then known earth, even as far as the East Indies, what was the common and received doctrine in all these far distant churches must be what was at first delivered to them, and could not be any concert or contrivance among them who had no correspondence with, or so much as knowledge of one another.

This is reducing our dispute to matter of fact, to what was the doctrine of the church, and the universal and received doctrine, especially in the first and purest ages: this was the method taken with Arius in the council of Alexandria; they did not go with him upon his logic, nor criticism and etymology of words, but *Quis unquam talia audivit?* “Who ever heard of this doctrine before?” And there being bishops assembled from several countries, each declared the doctrine that had been received in his country; all which concurring against

the new notions started by Arius, they were rejected as novelties, and breaches upon the Christian faith; as you may see in *Socrat. Hist.* lib. I. c. 5.

*Soc.* We know the force of this argument; and therefore we contend that the current doctrine of the church was our way before the first council of Nice, which, we say, corrupted the true Christian faith.

*Chr.* You have none to quote on your side, but those who were condemned by the church as heretics for these and such like doctrines, contrary to the faith established every where.

This is learnedly and elaborately set forth by Dr. Bull, in a treatise wrote on purpose upon that subject, concerning the Ante-Nicene faith; wherein he fully vindicates the fathers of those ages from the aspersions you would cast upon them, as any way favouring your heresy.

And thus far will come in my way, that, in examining the several texts of scripture, I will endeavour to bring some of the Ante-Nicene fathers for the orthodox construction against that interpretation which you set up; and wherein their faith concerning the doctrine of the holy Trinity, and likewise as to the divinity of our Lord Christ, will fully appear.

If I bring them not upon every text, or not many of them, it is not strange, since the writers of those ages were not many; and their works that are come to our hands are generally epistles or apologies, or upon particular subjects, not comments upon the scripture in order, as became more the use in the after-ages: and therefore their sense upon particular texts is to be found as it were by chance, where

they have occasion to quote them upon other subjects; and though it will take more pains, yet I hope I shall have sufficient for what I have undertaken.



THE  
SECOND DIALOGUE.

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*Concerning the texts of holy scripture which are brought for the proof of the blessed Trinity, and divinity of Christ.*

*Socinian.* YOU have promised fair, if you can perform equally: but before we begin with the texts in the order they are quoted in our Brief History, I desire you would give me one of your masterly texts, as you think, for the proof of your doctrine, that we may consider it more fully by itself than the time will allow us in running over the many other texts quoted.

*Christian.* With all my heart: and this will determine the cause in a manner before it be determined; and besides will make my answer to your interpretation of the other texts both shorter and plainer, and save many repetitions.

XV.  
John i. 1.  
particular-  
ly consid-  
ered.

The text that I offer for this is John i. 1. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* In order to understand this more perfectly, it will be necessary to know upon what occasion, and with respect to whom the apostle wrote this.

There was at that time one Cerinthus, an arch-heretic and disciple of Simon Magus, who affirmed that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary; that

Christ, or the Word, came upon him in the form of a dove at his baptism, and inspired him with the knowledge of God the Father, and with the power of working miracles; that when Jesus suffered, Christ left him, and flew up into heaven without partaking any thing of his sufferings. It was against this Cerinthus and his followers that St. John wrote his Gospel, when he was returned to Ephesus, after the death of Domitian. See *Iren.* lib. I. c. 25. lib. III. c. 11. *Epiphan. Hær.* 22, &c.

These heretics being bewildered in their imaginations, and given up to the delusions of Satan, fancied to themselves several æones, or ages, which they said God produced after one another. Of these St. Irenæus gives us a large account: one of these they called *σιγή*, *silence*; from whence they said the *Λόγος*, or Word, did proceed. Whence St. Ignatius, in opposition to them, calls Christ the *Λόγος αἰδίδιος οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών*; that is, “The eternal Word, not proceeding from silence.” *Epist. ad Magnes.*

This was in pursuance to what his master St. John (whose disciple he was) had wrote against these same heretics, beginning his Gospel in the words of this text, asserting the Word of God not to have been any of these fancied æones produced in time, but to have been *in the beginning* with God, and to be God. And Grotius upon this text says, that “*in the beginning* was a common Hebrew phrase, whereby to express *eternity*.” *Sicut mos est Hebræis æternitatem populariter describere.* And his authority is the more considerable to you, because your Brief History says, pag. 31, that “H. Grotius is a Socinian all over.”

There were others concerned besides these here-

ties in what St. John wrote concerning the *Λόγος*, those were the Jews and the heathens; and it will be necessary also to know what their notion was of the *Logos*, that we may see how the apostle adapted what he said to all of them. And this I will shew you presently, when I come to answer what your Brief History of the Unitarians says to this text, from which I will no longer detain you.

*Soc.* He says, p. 83, that by the Word is only meant God's power and wisdom, which is not something different from God, but, being his wisdom and power, is God.

He says likewise, p. 84, that the appellation of *god* is given to angels and men; as Moses was called *a god* to *Pharaoh*, Exod. vii. 1.

*Chr.* These two answers which the History of Unitar. gives to this text do contradict one another; the first supposes the Word to be real God; the second to be but man, and called God in a borrowed sense, as there are gods by office or deputation from God. The first answer makes the Word not to be any thing different from God; the second says that it is man, and not God.

*Soc.* These two answers, I confess, cannot well stand together, they cannot both be true; but let us see if either of them will hold; therefore pray satisfy me as to the first answer; that is, that by the Word of God any more is meant than the power or wisdom of God, as we say the power or wisdom of a man, by which nothing is meant different from the man.

*Chr.* You remember what we have discoursed, that properties in body and faculties in soul are persons in God, and the reasons why it must be so;

and therefore the wisdom of a man is not a distinct person in man; but it is otherwise in God, whose wisdom is a distinct hypostasis, that is, a subsistence or person in his nature.

*Soc.* I remember this very well, and what has been said upon it; but we are now upon the point of scripture, and therefore I desire that you would shew me from scripture that the Word is a distinct person from God.

*Chr.* You have not remembered exactly, for we do not say, that any of the Persons of God are distinct from God; but they are distinct in God. God is, as it were, a species to all the Persons; though it be sometimes more particularly applied to the first Person, as has been shewn. The nature of God is one, and the three Persons are all in it; and there is an example of this among men: we do not say that John is a distinct person from human nature; but he is a distinct person in human nature: that is, he is a distinct person from other persons, who partake equally of the same nature. John is a distinct person from Peter, and Peter from John; but neither of them is distinct from that nature of which he partakes, and which consequently is his own nature: that would be, to be distinct from himself. The distinction is not in the nature, for a distinction cannot be 'twixt one; but the distinction is 'twixt several persons who are united in the same nature: thus the Son is a distinct person from the Father; but not from God, unless where God is taken for the Father.

*Soc.* I see my mistake in this: therefore pray go on, and shew that the Word is a distinct person in God, or from the Father.



Chr. I prove it, because personal actions are attributed to him, and because he is set up as the object of our adoration ; which you do not deny, for you worship him, i. e. Christ, whom St. John calls *the Word*. And I think you will not dispute that any thing but a person can be an object of worship: therefore, if Christ be a person, which you confess, the Word must be a person ; because you cannot deny that in the first of St. John he is called *the Word*.

1.  
The Son a  
distinct  
person  
from the  
Father.

I shall have occasion to shew you hereafter that the Chaldee Paraphrase and the Jewish Targums do all along, in the Old Testament, make the Word of Jehovah synonymous with Jehovah himself, and yet a distinct person from him ; and do attribute to the Word the same personal actions as to Jehovah, and to be equally adorable as Jehovah ; as, *the Word of Jehovah raining down fire from Jehovah upon Sodom*, Gen. xix. 24 ; *The Word of Jehovah shall be my God*, Gen. xxviii. 21. Abraham worshipped, and called upon the name of the Word of Jehovah, and said, *Thou art Jehovah*, &c. More of this I shall shew you when I come to explain what notion the Jews had of the Logos, or Word of God ; how they esteemed him to be both God and a distinct person. But now, as to the scripture, in the plain words of the text, Psal. cx. 1. *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool*. That the second Lord here spoken of was Christ, is plain from Matt. xxii. 44. and that the Jews so understood it: whence the Targum of Jonathan renders it thus ; “ The Lord “ said to his Word ; ” in the language of St. John, who calls Christ *the Word of God*. And there cannot be

a greater distinction of persons than one to speak to the other, one to sit on the other's right hand, one to subdue the other's enemies, &c.

And therefore where it is said *the Word is God*, by *the Word* a person must be meant, and not only a property or attribute of God: "which," as your author says, "is not something different from God, "but is God:" and yet in the very same answer he says<sup>a</sup>, "that it is so God, that it is not all that God "is." This is as unintelligible to me as the Trinity can be to him: "To be God," and to be "nothing "different from God," and yet to be "so God" as not to be "all that God is!" This is past all human understanding, for if you be not all that God is, you cannot be God, but a piece of God; and if you be not something different from God, then you must be all that God is.

*Soc.* The Defence of the History, p. 44, means no more by *the Word was God*, than that the Word was in some manner like God.

*Chr.* He does not deserve an answer: let his historian answer him, or let him answer the historian, for in this he disputes against him, instead of defending him: nay, let this Defender answer himself: he says, p. 53, that the knowledge which Christ had was by the divine Word abiding on him; which agrees with the historian, p. 120, who likewise tells of the divine Word being communicated to angels and men, p. 83. 84; and that *the Word was made flesh*, means no more than the Word's abiding on or inhabiting an human person, the person of Jesus, p. 87. So that here the Word is kept as a distinct thing from Jesus; and according to this the Word

<sup>a</sup> Hist. p. 83, 84.

was not a man, was not Jesus, but only did inspire Jesus : and yet the Defender, p. 46, says expressly, and gives it as his paraphrase upon that text, *the Word was made flesh*, that the Word did not only inhabit and inspire Jesus, but was that man Jesus : these are the words of his paraphrase. “ The Word “ (Jesus) was a man like unto us in all things, sin “ only excepted :” and to fortify this, he quotes Mr. Limborch, speaking these words : “ The true “ sense of this place is, that the Word was flesh, “ that is, a true fleshly substance, subject to all the “ infirmities that attend our flesh ; that is to say, “ he was mortal, vile, and contemptible ; which ap- “ peared more especially in the days of his passion “ and of his death, which are called, Heb. v. 7, *the “ days of his flesh*, that is, the flesh, death, passion, “ &c. of the Word of God.” And yet in the same place he says, “ Now is it not more agreeable to “ reason and scripture to interpret these words thus “ ——than to say the Word was incarnate, which “ is a language unknown to scripture ?” &c.

Is not this astonishing ! Pray what is the difference betwixt *the Word was made flesh*, and *the Word was incarnate*, but that *made flesh* is the English for *incarnate* ? Do these men speak against mysteries !

There are multitudes of more quotations out of scripture may be given to prove the Word to be a person : John i. 14. *The Word was made flesh*. You will not say it was the Bible that was made flesh ? or any outward speech or declaration of God’s ? Was it not a person that was made flesh ?

*Soc.* By God’s Word there is meant God himself,



and not any thing distinct from God, as I told you just now.

*Chr.* Was it God himself, then, that was made flesh?

*Soc.* *The Word was made flesh*, that is, “<sup>b</sup> did “ abide on, and inhabit an human person ; and so “ was in appearance made flesh, or man ; or, the “ Word became incarnate, that is, abode on the “ person of Jesus Christ.”

*Chr.* I must still ask what was it that was made flesh, or man? If by the Word of God you mean God himself, then God was made man ; which you will not allow.

If you mean only some outward speech or declaration of his, as the book of the scriptures, or the like, then that book was made man, or incarnate.

*Soc.* You do not observe that he says, the Word “ was in appearance made man.”

*Chr.* I did observe it, and see the utmost pains taken to escape the force of this text ; but this, like all other fallacious subterfuges, will involve you in greater difficulties : for was there nothing really made flesh in this text, those heretics would be beholding to you, who say that Christ assumed only a body of air, and suffered only in appearance and show, but had no real flesh or blood.

But these your History calls false prophets and teachers, p. 151.

But pray how did the Word appear to be flesh ? or how was it incarnate ?

*Soc.* Because it did inspire or abode on the person of Jesus.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Unitar. p. 87.



*Chr.* Does that make it flesh? or appear to be flesh?

*Soc.* I dare not say that, for it did inspire the prophets and patriarchs; and the Spirit of God inspires every holy person: but it was in Christ in a more eminent manner.

*Chr.* Does that make it flesh? Does the Spirit of God contract the nature of flesh, when it inspires a person who has flesh? It inspired Moses more than other prophets, and the prophets more than men: is it therefore more flesh in a prophet than in another saint? Or can you say that it is flesh at all, by any inspiration it gives to men? Does it contract corruption, and become flesh by its inspiration of man? Can it be tainted by touching our nature? Is the Spirit incarnate when it abides upon any man?

*Soc.* All these you speak of did partake of God's Spirit or inspiration in their several degrees; but it is said of Christ, that God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him; what alteration this will make is to be considered.

*Chr.* It is indeed; and by the argument you have already heard, it will prove Christ to be God; for as we said before, nothing can hold infinite but infinite: and therefore nothing can hold the Spirit of God without measure, that is, the whole Spirit of God, but what is itself as infinite and without measure as that Spirit.

Irenæus (*Advers. Hæer.* lib. III. c. 17.) disputes against those who said that Jesus was the receptacle of Christ, upon whom Christ descended like a dove: so you see this is no new shift of our author's to avoid this text.

Origen (in John, p. 416. 2 tom.) says, that the Son is the brightness of all God's glory, as it is delivered by Paul, Heb. i. 3. *who being the brightness of his glory.* But there are particular brightnesses which come from this brightness of all the glory. But none can partake of the whole brightness of all God's glory, ἡ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, except his Son: "And," says he, "if you add his Spirit too, you will think "and speak most truly and perfectly of God." These are the words of Origen.

*Soc.* I must not now be diverted; I have had my saying to that argument already: therefore I desire to know if you have any more to prove the diversity of persons in God; or, which is the same, that either of the two, the Word or the Spirit, are persons.

2.  
The Holy  
Ghost a  
person.

*Chr.* John xvi. 13, 14. Christ says of the Spirit — *He shall not speak of himself, he shall receive of mine, and shew it to you:* and in answer to this, the Hist. of Unitar. p. 99. says, that "of those who "are Unitarians, all the Arians, and very many "Socinians, do acknowledge that the Holy Spirit is "a person."

*Soc.* But in the same place they deny him to be God; and make him only "chief of the heavenly "spirits, and prime minister of God and of Christ."

*Chr.* Then you make him not only to be a creature, but to be a subject or minister to another creature, which is Christ.

*Soc.* I cannot help that.

*Chr.* But what say you of the Word of God? Is that a creature too?

*Soc.* The divine wisdom and power is called *the Word*, as said before.

*Chr.* Does the wisdom or power of God differ from the Spirit of God?

*Soc.* No, sure ; for what is the wisdom or power of a man, but the spirit of a man? They are but different expressions of the same thing.

*Chr.* Then the Word of God and the Spirit of God are the same thing.

*Soc.* Yes ; at most but a different expression of the same thing : and we use these words promiscuously : “ The word or power of God abiding on “ Christ, and the Holy Ghost, or Spirit, is merely “ the power of God ; ” says the Hist. of the Unitar. p. 4. 75. 125.

*Chr.* And in what you have quoted before, upon the text, John i. 1. *the Word was God*, the Hist. of the Unitar. says that “ the Word (or divine “ wisdom and power) is not something different “ from God ; but being his wisdom and power, is “ God.”

But, p. 99, you say that the Holy Spirit is not God, or a God.

*Soc.* That was but the opinion of some of the Unitarians.

*Chr.* Your History says it was the opinion of all the Arians and very many Socinians.

*Soc.* Well ! that is but some of the Unitarians still.

*Chr.* It is the major part by much of your congregation, and the most ancient part.

*Soc.* I believe we must give off the Arians.

*Chr.* Nay, we will have very many of the Socinians, too, by the confession of your own History.

*Soc.* I confess we Unitarians are divided.

*Chr.* And worse than that ; you lose all your

pretence to antiquity: for you must not derive yourselves from the Arians; no, nor from Socinians neither; for very many of his disciples are against you.

John xvi.  
13, 14.

*Soc.* I care not for antiquity nor universality; truth is not carried by votes: let us come to the argument. Christ says, that *the Spirit shall not speak of himself—He shall receive of mine, and shew it unto you.* To this objection you have repeated one answer of all the Arians, and very many Socinians; and I must own, upon our principles, that you have confuted it.

But there is a second answer there given, p. 99, which is that I stick to, and that is, “That actions “proper to persons are, by a figure, applied to “things, and even to qualities of things.” As God’s commands are called *counsellors*; Wisdom is said to *lift up her voice, build her house, and hew out her seven pillars, &c.* And this is the answer my author gives to John i. 3. *All things were made by him,* (the Word;) for here, says he<sup>c</sup>, the Word begins to be spoken of as a person, by the same figure of speech that Solomon saith, *Wisdom hath builded her house, &c.*

But further, the Defence of the History, p. 40, says, that the creation of the world cannot be proved from this text, that *all things were made by the Word*; because he says, that the words *heaven, earth, or sea* are never omitted in the descriptions we have in scripture of the first and true creation: for you must know that this defender of our historian understands all this passage in John i. not of the creation, but only of the first propagation of the gospel.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. p. 84.



*Chr.* Then he thinks that *heaven, earth, or sea* are not included in *all things that were made*. But he is very positive that the creation is never mentioned in scripture, without mentioning heaven, earth, or sea: and consequently that where it mentions the creation of heaven, earth, or sea, it is never attributed to Christ.

This is a very bold assertion, but it is necessary to his cause, to avoid the plain texts which speak of the world being made by Christ. Let us see therefore if we can please him in his own method, though it be no ways necessary; for none of common sense can deny but the creation may be spoke of in general words, which include all particulars, without mentioning the particulars, or any of them.

But to take away all his excuse, these words are expressly applied to Christ, Heb. i. 10; *Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the work of thine hands*. We shall have occasion to clear this further by and by. Ver. 2. it is said, *by whom (Christ) he (God) made the world*. But your author will not let this mean the creation, because the words *heaven, or earth, or sea* are not there; for the same reason he will except against ver. 3. of chap. xi. *The worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things that do appear*. These things which are seen must be heaven, earth, or sea: but it is no matter, if they be not named it shall not do. Besides, the apostle is here making a regular deduction down all along from the creation, which he begins, ver. 3, in the words I have repeated, then, ver. 4, he comes to Abel, ver. 5, to Enoch, ver. 7, to Noah, ver. 8, to

Abraham, and so on. But all this is nothing; that must not be the creation whence this narration begins, but it shall be what came to pass some thousand years after, and which has no relation to the narrative the apostle has in hand. But that the creation may be meant without the mention of heaven, earth, or sea, appears from Acts xvii. 24; there it is said, *God that made the world and all things therein*. That this was spoken of the creation no Socinian dare deny: it is St. Paul's argument to the heathen idolaters, who knew nothing of the gospel being called *the creation of the world*: indeed heaven and earth are mentioned afterward, where it is said that God is *Lord of heaven and earth*, but there is no mention of heaven or earth where it speaks of the creation, and so spoiled our author's observation: though if it were granted him, it could do him no service, because the creation is attributed to Christ, with express mention of heaven and earth, as before is shewn, Heb. i. 10. Again, Col. i. 16. *By him (Christ) were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth*: and there are several other texts to the same purpose.

But there is nothing better to confute a Socinian than plainly to set down his paraphrase, and shew how it fills the words of the text: thus then the Defence of the History paraphrases this verse, John i. 3. *All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made*. Paraphrase: *All things necessary to the propagation of the gospel were performed by him, and without his direction there was not any thing performed that was performed*.

A little of this art would turn the whole chapter

of Genesis from meaning the creation, or any thing else. I am weary of pursuing such extravagance.

But let creation mean only the preaching of the gospel, or what you please, yet is not that itself a personal action? How come you then to deny the Word to be a person? You dare not trust your cause, and all your defence is because Wisdom is said to live, &c.

I have told you already that the second Person of the Trinity is described by the name of Wisdom, in the Proverbs particularly, and in many other scriptures: but I need not this now, for I will freely acknowledge, that actions proper to persons are sometimes, by a figure, applied to things, and even qualities.

But at the same time you will allow me, that there is a way to distinguish betwixt figures and plain speaking; and that a figure will not do in every place: and that, notwithstanding of figures, we may distinguish persons from qualities; and nowhere more plainly than in the present case. How could you distinguish one person not to be another person, or that the thing you speak of is not a naked quality, more than to say, *He shall not speak of himself*—*He shall receive of mine, and shew it to you?*

Do men use to say that a quality shall not speak of itself, which certainly cannot speak at all? Would you make Christ guilty of such a figure of speech as this? Do men say that a quality shall receive of one, and give it to another? If these be not marks by which to distinguish persons, I would desire to know any others that are more certain.

All actions are personal actions: and when they



are ascribed to qualities, it means, that it was by such qualities that the person performed such an action, otherwise it was not proper to ascribe personal actions to qualities.

You will say, it was great wisdom built such a fabric, erected such a monarchy, or the like effects of wisdom: but you do not say that wisdom walks in the garden, or rides such a horse, or calls such a man by his name, or grants him a commission to go to such a place, to do such things, which otherwise he had not authority to do, let him have never so much wisdom as to command a troop of horse, to be governor of such a town, to grant a pardon, or the like: these are a little too personal to ascribe to naked qualities, and no man would understand you: if you speak at such a rate, you might as well give a quality power to raise money, declare war against France, and name every ambassador, and say Lord B—— shall not go, but Lord D—— shall go.

*Soc.* This indeed would be out of all roads of speaking; but can you find that the Holy Ghost ever spoke so particularly as this, and name persons of himself to do this or that, without acting by ministers, that is, inspiring prophets to name men, and the like?

*Chr.* Yes, as positively as ever was said of any person, and in actions as personal and particular.

Acts xiii. 2.

*The Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them.*

Acts viii.  
29.  
ver. 39.

*The Spirit said unto Philip, Go near and join thyself to this chariot. And again, The Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip. Was not this a*



personal action? Could a naked quality catch a man up into the air, and carry him from one place to another? *The Spirit said unto Peter, Behold, three men seek thee.* Peter could not tell by his own wisdom that there were three men seeking him; therefore this cannot be made parallel to the expression of *wisdom building a house*, or the like effects of wisdom in a man; for this was no effect of any wisdom in Peter, but a revelation to him from the Spirit; which therefore must be a person.

It is not called a revelation, such as I find out by any wisdom God has given me.

Christ says, *I will send the Comforter to you from the Father.* Do men send qualities of errands? Is not the sender a different person from him that is sent? Or does a man send himself from himself? Besides Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost in the womb of the virgin, which sure is a personal action; naked qualities do not use to beget or generate.

*Soc.* This must be considered of: but go on.

*Chr.* I would desire you to tell me what Spirit it was which Christ speaks of, John xvi. 13, 14, where he says, that the *Spirit shall not speak of himself*, &c.

*Soc.* That is told you in the second answer which we are now upon, page 100 of Brief History; that it was the Holy Spirit, or power of God.

*Chr.* Is the Spirit or power any thing different from God?

*Soc.* No, that has been told you already from page 83, where it is said in plain and express terms, that "the divine wisdom and power is not something different from God, but is God;" and

that "it is the common maxim of divines, that the " attributes and properties of God are God."

*Chr.* Then it was God who was not to speak of himself, but to receive of Christ; Christ was to dictate, and God to repeat.

*Soc.* Page 101 it is said, that he was "not to " speak of himself, but to speak what he could hear " from God."

*Chr.* Then it was God who was to hear from God: and God was not to speak of himself, but only what God should tell him.

*Soc.* All this nonsense cannot be charged upon my author, because he supposes this Spirit to be a creature, and not to be God.

*Chr.* That is the first answer, which you have rejected: and you have proved, page 83 and elsewhere, that the Spirit is not any thing different from God, but is God: and even in this very second answer, which you mention, page 100, (that you may not be charged with forgetfulness,) you call this Spirit by the name of the Holy Spirit, or power of God.

*Soc.* We do so; and we keep constant to this now, though we part with all the Arians and very many of the Socinians in so doing.

*Chr.* Then the nonsense, which you said just now could not be charged upon your author, must be laid to his account again, viz. to make the Spirit or power of God, which is God, not to speak of himself, but to receive from God, and speak what God did dictate to God, &c.

*Soc.* I must take time to consider of this.

*Chr.* But besides, I am afraid the constancy which you brag you have to this opinion now, viz.

“ That the Spirit is not any thing different from God, but that it is God,” does not hold very well with you, but that you are forced to part with it sometimes, when it is for your conveniency.

*Soc.* If you can shew me any such thing, I will trust no more to any thing our Unitarians say.

*Chr.* Look into the History, p. 125, and there, in answer to that crabbed text, 2 Cor. xiii. 14, he replies in these words; “ This text demonstrates that neither the Lord Christ nor the Holy Spirit are God, for it plainly distinguishes them from God.”

Here the Holy Spirit is plainly distinguished from God, and is not God. And before, as you have said, “ It is not any thing different from God, but it is God.”

*Soc.* It is time to go to the second answer which the Hist. of Unitar. gives to that text, John i. 1, *the Word was God*. For there is enough said as to the first answer, viz. that by the Word here is only meant God’s power and wisdom, which is not any thing different from God, but is God. The second answer is, that the word *God* is given sometimes to creatures, to angels, and even to men; and therefore that text may not mean that the Word was the supreme God, but only a god, as kings are called *gods*, &c.

*Chr.* To reduce the state of the case as short and clear as possible, it is thus: the distinction is ’twixt a God by nature and a God by office or deputation: by nature, we all agree, there can be but one God, but by office *there be gods many, and lords many*, <sup>1 Cor. viii. 5.</sup> *whether in heaven or in earth.*

Now in which of these senses the Word is called God is the question.



*Soc.* That indeed is the question ; and if you can make it clear, this cause, for ought I can see, will remain decided for ever.

*Chr.* If I can make appear what St. John's meaning was, who wrote these words, I suppose that will satisfy you.

*Soc.* Yes, sure ; what he meant by it is the whole matter.

3.  
The heathens' notion of the Logos.

*Chr.* I have told you before the notions of the Jews and heathens as to the Trinity, that they did believe three hypostases or persons in the divine nature ; and consequently each of these persons must be God by nature. The second of these persons they did call the Λόγος, the Word.

This is so notoriously known, that I might spare any proof of it ; therefore I will give you but a few authorities, that I might not seem to speak wholly precariously. Plotinus, *Ennead.* V. lib. v. c. 3. speaking of the Logos, calls him *God by nature*, Θεὸς, αὐτῇ ἢ φύσει, *his very nature is God* : and to shew that he meant not the first Person of the God-head, in the very next words he calls him δεύτερος Θεὸς, *a second God* : by which, as I told you before, they meant only the second Person in the divine nature, and so have fully explained themselves. They meant the same thing we do, but (as St. Augustin observes by way of an excuse for them) not being tied up to strict forms of words, as the Christians have been, occasioned by the many heresies that have arisen, they took their own latitude of expression, which yet made their meaning plain enough ; as the same Plotinus does in another place of the same book, *Ennead.* V. lib. i. c. 6. where he affirms the Logos to be next to the most high, of



necessity together with him, and nothing between them, and that he differs from him only in that he is another, or in his personality: these are his words, Οὐ χωρισθεῖς, ἀλλ' ὅτι μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ μεταξὺ οὐδὲν — ἐξ ἀνάγκης σύνεστιν αὐτῷ, ὡς τῇ ἑτερότητι μόνον κεχωρισθαι. And *Ennead*. V. lib. viii. c. 5. he calls this Logos υἱὸν Θεοῦ, *the Son of God*. Orpheus, the eldest of all the Greek philosophers, (as he is cited Clem. Strom. lib. V. p. 254. edit. Florent. fol. an. 1550.), calls the Logos *the divine Word*, and *the immortal King*, in these verses:

Εἰς δὲ Λόγον θεῖον βλέψας, τούτῳ προσέδρευε  
Εὐρύνων, κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος, εἰ δ' ἐπίβαινε  
Ἄτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσθρα κόσμῳ ἀνακτα  
Ἀθάνατον——

Porphyry (quoted by St. Cyril cont. Jul. lib. I. p. 32. edit. Paris. fol. an. 1638.) calls the Logos ἄχρονος γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ μόνος αἰώνιος, *without time, always, and alone eternal*. Tertullian (*Apolog. adv. Gentes*, c. 21.) says that Zeno called this Logos “the Maker of the world, who formed all things in order, and that he was called Fate, and God, and the soul of Jupiter, and the necessity of all things.” *Hunc enim Zenon determinat factitorem, qui cuncta in dispositione formaverit, eundem et Fatum vocari, et Deum, et animum Jovis, et necessitatem omnium rerum.*

And as the heathen, so the Jews understood the Logos in the same sense: Philo (*Quæst. et Solut.*) calls the Logos, in the same words of Plotinus above quoted, δεύτερον Θεόν, *a second God*, next to the Πατέρα τῶν πάντων, to the *Father of all*; and in his *Legis Allegor.* lib. II. p. 93. edit. Paris. fol. an. 1640. he speaks thus of the Logos, Καὶ ὁ Λόγος δὲ τῶν

4.  
The Jews' notion of it.

Θεοῦ ὑπεράνω παντός ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ πρεσβύτατος καὶ γενικώτατος τῶν ὅσα γέγονε. “That the Word of God is “superior to the whole world, and elder and more “general than all the things whatsoever which are “produced;” τῶν νοητῶν, he adds, (*de Profug.*) “elder “than all intelligibles,” than all things in the intellectual world, as well as in the sensitive, than all spirits, as well as bodies, that is, than all created beings.

And to shew that he meant this of another person than of God the Father, he calls this Logos *the high priest of God*, that is, governing next under him, or having the administration of God’s kingdom in all the world, which he calls *the temple of God*; Ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πρωτόγονος αὐτοῦ θεῖος Λόγος, “in “which his (God’s) first-born divine Word is high “priest;” *de Somn.* Agreeable to this, the Chaldee Paraphrase makes the Logos and God or Jehovah synonymous, and instead of Jehovah often uses the Logos, or *Word of God*, as Exod. xx. 1. Deut. xxxiii. 7, &c. But does plainly distinguish them from being the same person, as Genesis xvii. 7. *I will establish my covenant between my Word and thee.* Where God speaks of his Word as of another person.

The Jerusalem Targum is yet more express upon Gen. iii. 22. thus:

“The Word of the Lord said, Behold Adam, whom “I created, is the only begotten upon earth, as I am “the only begotten in heaven.” And Philo (*de Agricult.* lib. II.) introduces the Logos speaking thus of himself, Καὶ γὰρ οὔτε ἀγέννητος ὡς Θεὸς ὢν, οὔτε γεννητὸς ὡς ὑμεῖς; “I am neither unbegotten as God, nor “begotten after the same manner that you are.”

Here the begotten Word is distinguished from the unbegotten Father of the Word, and the creation of Adam is attributed in express terms to the Word; and the text says he was created by God, which makes God and the Word to be synonymous; and Onkelos' Paraphrase of Gen. xxviii. 21. thus renders it, *If the Word of the Lord will help me—the Word of the Lord shall be my God.*

Let me add to this, at least to shew the Jewish notion in this matter, the style in which the Apocrypha expresses it: thus we find it——

*Soc.* But my business now is, not what the Jews or heathens meant by their Logos, or Word of God, but what St. John meant by the Logos he mentions in that text you have quoted.

*Chr.* Where do you imagine that St. John got this term of Logos, or the Word of God?

*Soc.* I have often reflected upon that, and really it appeared very strange to me; the beginning of his Gospel seemed to me to be out of all the common road of speaking, and therefore I put it upon the account of some extraordinary impulse of the Spirit of God, and that he spoke words which never man had spoken before: and therefore I thought you to blame to draw arguments from such uncouth phrases, whose meaning seemed as hidden as the Revelations.

*Chr.* But I hope you are of another opinion now, and believe that those terms were not of St. John's inventing, but were used before he was born, and were known common terms in the world.

*Soc.* I must not deny plain matter of fact.

*Chr.* Why then should St. John use common terms in a different sense from the whole world?



*Soc.* I can give no reason why he should.

*Chr.* He must not intend to be understood if he did, and so could not be a sincere writer: he must intend either to confirm the world in the opinion they had of the Logos, or to disprove it. Now you find plainly that he did not absolutely deny or reject the Logos, but he reforms some errors concerning it, and teaches the truth of it; for, as was said before, the heathen philosophers had corrupted the tradition of the Trinity which had come to them; and consequently of the Logos, which was one of the three first Principles whom they acknowledged.

*Soc.* What corruption did St. John intend to correct in his treatise of the Logos?

*Chr.* The Cerinthian heretics denied the Logos to be *in the beginning*, but made many ages distance between the eternal being of the Father and the emanation of the Logos, wherein they fancied the Father, *in silentio et quiete multa fuisse in immensis æonibus*, as Irenæus expresses it, *advers. Hæres.* lib. I. c. 1. “to have been in silence and deep “quiet for immense ages;” and they supposed that the Logos was at last produced by the Father ἀπὸ σιγῆς, *out of this silence*; which they made one of his emanations; as I have said before; and I desire to repeat to you again, that you may remember it, what I before quoted out of St. Ignatius’s Epistle to the Magnesians, where he calls Christ the Λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς οὐ προελθὼν, “the eternal Word who did not proceed from silence.”

And you will believe Ignatius to be the best interpreter of St. John’s meaning, who was his own scholar, and learned the Gospel from his mouth. *Irenæus advers. Hær.* lib. II. p. 257. says expressly



that St. John wrote on purpose against Cerinthus, to vindicate the Logos being prior and superior to all fancied æones or emanations; and to that very end wrote the words of this text, John i. 1. *In the beginning was the Word, &c.*

I have here given you two of the ancient fathers, long before the council of Nice, for our exposition of this text, in direct opposition to yours; and asserting the same doctrine concerning God and his Word which we believe and teach at this day. But I can give you more; and first, more of St. Ignatius, who says of himself, Ἐγὼ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν αἶδα, i. e. "I saw him (Christ) in the flesh after " his resurrection." *Epist. ad Smyrnens.* edit. Usser. p. 112.

This Ignatius (*Epist. ad Ephes.* p. 33. of edit. Usser.) speaks of Christ in these words, Ἐχομεν ἱατρὸν, καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων Υἱὸν μονογενῆ καὶ Λόγον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου· ὁ Λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ὁ ἀσώματος ἐν σώματι, ὁ ἀπαθὴς ἐν παθητῷ σώματι, ὁ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ σώματι, ἡ ζωὴ ἐν φθορᾷ, i. e. "We have likewise a physician, our Lord God Jesus, the Christ, who was " before ages, the only begotten Son and Word, but " afterward made man of the Virgin Mary: for the " Word was made flesh-incorporeal in body, impassible in a passible body, immortal in a mortal " body, life in corruption," &c.

*Ep. ad Magnes.* p. 56. of edit. Usser. Ignatius speaks yet more categorically in this point: he says of Christ, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ Λόγος, οὐ ῥήτος, ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης, i. e. "[Christ] who is his [God's] Word, not of his " speech, but of his substance."

And *Ep. ad Polycarp.* p. 138. of edit. Usser. he

says of Christ, τὸν ἀπαθῆ ὡς Θεὸν, δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ παθητὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπον, i. e. "Who was impassible as God, but for us was passible as man." He calls him there ἄχρονον ἐν χρόνῳ, ἀόρατον τῇ φύσει, ὀρατὸν ἐν σαρκί, &c. i. e. "without time in time, invisible in his nature, visible in the flesh." And more to the same purpose.

*Clemen. Alexandrin. Admonit. ad Gent.* p. 5. says, "that the Word was Christ," Ὁ μόνος ἄμφω, Θεός τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος; "who only was both God and man." And in his *Pædagogus* lib. I. c. 8. p. 113, he says, that "God hates nothing, neither the Word; for both," says he, "are one, that is, God; for he said, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*"

*Just. Martyr. Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 284, 285, says, that God before all creatures begot out of himself δύναμιν λογικὴν, a rational power, which is called by the Holy Ghost *the Glory of the Lord*, and also *the Son*, and sometimes *Wisdom*, (as by Solomon in the Proverbs, &c.) and sometimes *God*, and sometimes *Lord*, and that it was he who appeared in the form of a man to Joshua, as Captain of the host of the Lord: and that these appellations belong to him as being begotten by the voluntary generation of the Father; and that the like generation may be seen in some sort in ourselves; for when we bring forth a word, we do in a manner beget that word, not by cutting or parting it, as if it were made less in us who beget it, but, as in fire, another is kindled by it, without any diminution of that fire whence the other is kindled. And that this Word or progeny of God was with God before all creatures, and that *all things were made by him, and nothing made*

without him, and that it was to him God spake, *Let us make man*, as you have heard.

Irenæus is full and large upon this text, *Advers. Hæres.* lib. III. c. 11. lib. V. c. 18. lib. I. c. 19. lib. II. c. 2. lib. III. c. 8. 11. 31.

*Tertull. Apologet.* c. 2. 1. shews what opinion the heathen philosophers had of the Logos, whom they owned as the maker of the world, and called him Fate, and God, and the soul of Jupiter. Him (says Tertullian) *ex Deo prolatum dicimus, et prolatione generatum, et idcirco Filium Dei, et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ*—*De Spiritu Spiritus, et de Deo Deus, ut lumen de lumine accensum.* “We say that the Logos is deduced from “God, and in that deduction is begot, and therefore “is called the Son of God, and God from the unity “of substance—that he is Spirit of Spirit, and “God of God, as light is kindled of light.” And (*De Præscrip.* lib. XIII.) this Word, or Son of God, appeared variously to the patriarchs in the name of God, was always heard in the prophets, and at last by the Spirit was made flesh in the womb of the Virgin Mary, &c. But Tertullian is so full and in so many places, that I suppose our adversaries will not contend for him. Read his 7th sect. *advers. Prax.* p. 503. and 504, and see how expressly he disputes against our author’s notion of the Word being nothing different from God, as we say of the word which a man speaks, it is not a distinct substance from him. *Quid est enim? dices*—“for “you will say, What is a word but the voice or “sound of the mouth”—a sort of an incorporeal empty thing? But I say that nothing void or empty could proceed from God—nor could want that



substance which comes forth from so great a substance, and which made so great substances——How can he be nothing, without whom nothing was made?——Can that Word of God be a void and empty thing, who is called the Son, who is named God himself? and *the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*——This certainly is he, *who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God.* Therefore, whatever the substance of the Word is, *personam dico*; “I call it a “person, and vindicate to it the name of *the Son.*” Thus Tertullian.

<sup>a</sup>Origen upon this text, p. 17, means by *the Word* something distinct from God. “*In the beginning “was the Word: by the Word* here he understands the Son, who is said to be in the beginning because he was in the Father.”

You would not make God to be in and with himself, to beget himself, to be his own Son, &c. And without saying this, you cannot reconcile the sense of these fathers upon this text to that sense your historian puts upon it; viz. that the Word in this text is not something different from God.

*Soc.* Our Brief History says, p. 80, “The Trinitarian exposition of this chapter is absurd and “contradictory.”

*Chr.* This is his civil way of treating us; these are the patterns for genteel disputing, without passion or heat: but what reason does he give for this hard censure?

*Soc.* He says, “’Tis this, that *in the beginning*

<sup>a</sup> Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, Λόγον νοῶν τὸν Υἱὸν παρὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, λεγόμενον εἶναι ἐν ἀρχῇ.



“should be meant *from all eternity*. For,” says he, “*from all eternity* is before the beginning.”

*Chr.* What before the beginning of eternity?

*Soc.* Eternity has no beginning.

*Chr.* Then there is no such thing as *from eternity*. The word *from* implies a *beginning*. Does any body say *from no beginning*? or can any body think it?

*Soc.* We cannot speak properly of eternity: we cannot speak of it but by words of time; for we have none other.

*Chr.* Then take your own answer; and what word of time is before the beginning? But all phrases of speech must be taken in the common acceptation. And I have shewed you from your beloved Grotius, that *in the beginning* was a common Hebraism for eternity; and that it was so used in this text. Do we not say that God was *in the beginning* before all things? and Origen has just now told you the meaning of the Word being said to be *in the beginning*, that is, that *the Word was always in God*, and therefore must be *in the beginning with God*: and I have shewed you that the Cerinthians denied the Word to have been *in the beginning* with God, but produced many ages or æones after: therefore the apostle asserts that he was *in the beginning* with God. And St. Ignatius calls him *Λόγος αἰδίου*, *the eternal Word*. And *from the beginning* is a scripture phrase whereby to express eternity, as the same Logos, or Word, speaks of himself by the name of Wisdom. (whereby he is commonly expressed in holy scripture,) Prov. viii. 23, *I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was*. God the Father

would not say, that he was *set up*: Did any other *set him up*? Yet he that was *set up* is said to be *from everlasting*: and *from the beginning* is made synonymous with *from everlasting*.

*Soc.* But my historian says, p. 80, that “*in the beginning* must refer to some time and thing; it must be in the beginning of the world, or of the gospel, or of the Word.” He says *it must be so*, but gives no other proof; therefore I go on to the next.

*Chr.* To which of these times does the beginning of Wisdom refer? and the Wisdom of God is called *his Word*, as your historian confesses, p. 82. Was not Wisdom then *in the beginning* with God? or was there any time when God had not wisdom? Now go on to your next.

*Soc.* He says, p. 81, “*The Word was with God*; that is,” says he, “the Son was with the Father: but was not the Son also with the Holy Ghost? and is not he too (according to the Trinitarians) God, or a God? If he is, why does St. John say, “*the Son was with the Father*? and how comes the Father to engross here the title of God, to the exclusion of the Holy Ghost?” Then he goes on and says in the next words, *The Word was God*. Upon which he argues in the same way, and says, “What shall we do here? was the Word the Father? for so they interpreted God in the foregoing clause.”

*Chr.* That the word *God* includes the Father is true: but who told him it was to the exclusion of the Holy Ghost? Your historian knows well enough that is not the doctrine of the Trinitarians: why then did he object it? I have told you before, that

the word *God* does generally mean the Godhead, which includes all the three Persons: and sometimes it means the Father, as the fountain of the other Persons: and that sometimes the Godhead is expressed without the word *God* at all, where the three Persons are enumerated, as in the form of our baptism.

I illustrated this to you, by way of parallel, that the understanding, being the father or fountain faculty, is often used to express the soul; but that this was not to the exclusion of the other two faculties. It is said, Luke xxiv. 45, that Christ *opened their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures*. Your historian might come in here as well, and say, "What shall we do now? was 'this to the exclusion of the memory and of the 'will?'"

It is not said in the text we are upon that the Word was the Father, but that *the Word was God*; that is, did partake of the divine nature; which is not to the exclusion of either of the other Persons. But it does demonstrate the Word was one of these Persons, as partaking of the same nature with them. Let us hear if your historian has any more to say.

*Soc.* Upon these words, *The same was in the beginning with God*, he says, p. 82. "How comes 'this to be again repeated? for John had said once 'before, that *the Word was with God*. They care 'not; 'tis said, and that's enough."

*Chr.* He gives a pretty account of our answers: Does he name any Trinitarian that gave that blunt answer?

*Soc.* No; but he goes on and says, "The truth

“ is, according to their sense of this context, no account can be given of this repetition, and they must allow it to be a mere tautology.”

*Chr.* What is the Socinian sense he puts upon it?

*Soc.* He says, that “ *In the beginning* (that is, the beginning of the creation of heaven and earth) *was the Word*; and that by *the Word* the power and wisdom of God is meant.”

*Chr.* Well: but how does this solve the tautology? for St. John had said once before, that *the Word was with God*; and whatever is meant by the Word, the tautology is the same: thus then the text goes, in his sense, *In the beginning*, that is, of the creation, *was the Word*, that is, the power and wisdom of God. And the power and wisdom was with God: and the power and wisdom was God: and the same power and wisdom was *in the beginning with God*. Let him now solve the tautology he objects, even in his own sense. Men are very willing to make objections when they cannot see how easily they are retorted.

But this will bring us to a better understanding of this text: for in the Socinian sense it is not only a tautology, but the whole is to no purpose. For who denied that God had power and wisdom *from the beginning*, not only of the creation, but from all eternity? Against whom did St. John dispute, in this sense? But I have shewed you against whom he did dispute, that is, the Cerinthians, who denied this wisdom of God, called the Word, to be a person; or if a person, not to have been *from the beginning*, but created by God many ages or æones afterwards, and so not to have been *in the beginning with God*. Against these the apostle's words



are full and cogent; but in the Socinian sense they are nothing but what all the world knew and allowed; and so were meant against nobody, to prove nothing, or to disprove nothing.

These heretics made two Words of God: one by nature, which is the essential wisdom inherent in God by his nature; and this must have been always in God, and ever inseparable from him. This must have been *in the beginning with God*, and must be God. And by this *God made all things*, and *without this was not any thing made that was made*. But they denied Christ to be this Word: they said he was metaphorically called the Word and the Wisdom of God, from the great wisdom bestowed upon him: and that he was created by the true and natural Word of God. Thus the Arians (after the Cerinthians) held, as you may see in the Synodical Epistle of Alexander Bishop of Alexandria, upon the condemnation of Arius, *Socrat. Hist.* lib. I. c. 5.

Now see how direct and pungent the words of St. John are against these heresiës, where he sets about to prove that Christ was the Word of God: not a made or created Word which was not *from the beginning*, but the very Word which was *in the beginning*, and which was God; *by whom God made all things, and without whom nothing was made that was made*; that is, he was the essential Wisdom of God, and therefore always in God: which is the reason Origen gives, as I have before quoted him, why Christ is said to be *in the beginning*, because he was always in the Father. And it was this same Word, St. John tells us, that *was made flesh*.

*Soc.* But you have forgot to solve the tautology

objected by your historian : you have indeed retorted it upon him ; but you have not answered it as to yourself.

*Chr.* Every repetition is not a tautology, but to enforce what you say the more : and your historian is sensible of this ; for he says, p. 87, upon the 11th verse of this chapter, *His own received him not*, “ ’Tis again repeated ” (says your historian) “ to brand “ the ingratitude and stupidity of the Jews.” And, p. 91, upon John iii. 13, he says, “ It is repeated, “ *majoris asseverationis causa*, for its greater confirmation.” Thus the same apostle, having asserted the Word to have been *in the beginning*, and to have been *with God*, now joins both together, and says, *He was in the beginning with God* ; to shew what *beginning* he meant, viz. the same *beginning with God*, since we must so speak. And it was likewise for the stronger confirmation of this most important truth.

But what says your author to the next words that follow, ver. 3, *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.*

*Soc.* He says, p. 84, “ That the Word begins here “ to be spoken of as a person, by the same figure of “ speech that Solomon saith, *Wisdom hath builded “ her house, &c.*” This is the same as I told you before, that by the Word he means the eternal power and wisdom of God.

*Chr.* What does he say to the next words immediately following ? *In him was life, &c.*

*Soc.* He says, p. 85, “ *In him*, i. e. in him when “ he was in the world, and was made flesh.”

*Chr.* But had the eternal power and wisdom of

God no life till Jesus was born? Indeed a quality or attribute has no life in it: therefore if the Word have life, it must be a person: for which reason you will not let it be a person till it inspired or dwelt in Jesus. But all that will not make it a person, more than it was a person in all the holy men it has inspired. Nothing less than incarnation can do that, whereby the natures united become one person, and cannot be separated again without the death of the person.

But see how you are caught in your own snare: in answer to ver. 3, you make the Word the eternal power and wisdom of God, and to be God. But in answer to ver. 4, you make the same Word to be a creature, and to have had no life till the birth of Jesus. Nay, you make it no more than the doctrine of Christ, which "here," says your author, "is called light, as before it was called life." So that here was no life, but in a metaphorical sense, as contributing to give life to others, which a dead thing may do, as the book of the scriptures when read.

But how does the Word or Wisdom of God inspire, if it have no life in it? or does it borrow life from the person whom it inspires? as your author seems to say that the Word had no life till it was *made flesh*: for then he supposes, and consequently not till then, that text verified, *In him was life*: but if life was in him before, then he was a person before, and consequently from all eternity, he being the eternal Wisdom of God, as your author has asserted. And he having life in himself might give life to another, or inspire another: for a quality does not inspire, but is that which is inspired. But

6.  
Inspiration  
must come  
from a  
person.



your author says that he (the Word) was *made flesh*: this is something more than inspiring.

7.  
What the  
Socinians  
mean by  
*incarna-  
tion*.

*Soc.* We can use the term of being *made flesh*, and of *incarnation* too, and yet mean no more by it than bare inspiration. Thus our historian, p. 86, says, "The Word became incarnate, that is, abode " on the person of Jesus Christ: for God commu-  
" nicated to him an effusion of his power and  
" wisdom." And, p. 87, in answer to ver. 14, *the Word was made flesh*, "that is," says my author, "did abide on and inhabit an human person, the  
" person of Jesus Christ, and so was, in appearance,  
" made flesh, or man."

*Chr.* The text says, *was made flesh*. That was only *in appearance*, say you. This is a pretty latitude in interpreting of texts; and looks like a downright denial of the text; for if it was only in appearance, then it was not *made flesh*. This is adding to the text, not interpreting: and let me have the like privilege of adding only these two words *in appearance*, to what text I think fit, I would fain know if you could prove any one thing upon me out of the whole Bible.

But where was the appearance? If God endows a man with extraordinary gifts and graces, and power of working miracles, is this any appearance of God's being *made flesh*? Then there was an appearance of it in Moses, and many of the prophets and apostles. Christ said to them, John xiv. 12, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth in me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto the Father*. Was God therefore incarnate? or will he be incarnate in any who have, or may



hereafter do these greater works? or will there be any appearance of his being *made flesh* in any of these his saints? Where then was the appearance of God's being *made flesh* in Christ, because of the mighty works which he did? for that was all which could appear to our view.

*Soc.* We have dwelt a long time upon this first of St. John, as if it were the only text in all the Bible you have to depend upon.

XIV.  
The other  
texts in  
holy scrip-  
ture in-  
quired into.

*Chr.* You shall see the whole current of the holy scriptures run all in the same strain: but there being several things needful to be known, in order to the explaining of several texts, I have chose to set them down in this place, to avoid repetition; therefore it will shorten our work in what remains. And now I am ready to look over with you the answers which your historian gives to the texts of scripture in the order he has ranged them.

*Soc.* He begins upon this in his Second Letter, p. 42. And the first text he names is Gen. i. 26, *Let us make man in our image*. Whence you draw arguments from the manner of the phrase of God being spoken of in the plural number.

1. *Chr.* He should have begun at the first verse, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*; where the word *Elohim*, which we translate *God*, is in the plural number, and *bara, did create*, is in the singular number; which literally rendered is thus, *Dii creavit*, that is, *He the Gods did create*. And there are three persons here visibly spoke of; first, he that spoke, *Let there be light; let there be a firmament, &c.*: second, the Word spoken by him; of which we have discoursed largely before: third, the Spirit of God, which (ver. 2.) is said to have

*moved upon the face of the waters*: and these Gods are here said to be the God that did create. And we know how exact the Hebrew is as to every letter of a word, and the import they draw from thence; as in that little alteration which God made in the names of *Abram* and *Sarai* into *Abraham* and *Sarah*, Gen. xvii. 5, 15; upon which God there laid great stress, and gave it as a token of his covenant then made with them. I will not trouble you with the niceties and improvements which the Cabalists, or mystical writers of the Jews, make upon every word and letter, and manner of expression, in the sacred text; though it shews their meaning, and how they understood things. But since your author has slipped this text, let us go on with him to that which you have named.

2. *Soc.* To that text, Gen. i. 26, *Let us make man in our image*, he says, p. 42, that *us* there spoke of was God and angels; that God spoke this to the angels; that man was made in the image of God and angels: but that God spoke to the angels not as adjutants, but as spectators of his work. He says some rabbies do thus understand it: he says he has spoke to this text in his First Letter.

*Chr.* I can find nothing of it there: so this was a put off. But here he takes part with the Jews against us. The Jews, since Christ, have obscured what they call the doctrine of the Trinity, because it leads so directly to the divinity of Christ: but they have not been able to do it so as not to leave full proof of it out of their writings, as I have shewed you. And much more might be produced to the same purpose.

However, in answer to the Socinians and these

*some rabbies*, (your author does not name nor quote,) I say that this answer is wholly precarious; and they produce no authority whatever for it. Besides, it is not certain that the angels were then created. St. Barnabas thinks that this text was spoke before the foundation of the world; which I will shew you presently. Besides that the expression *Let us make* is not applicable to bare spectators, but to fellow-workers. *Come see me work*, would be an invitation to spectators: as Jehu said to Jehonadab, 2 Kings x. 16, *Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord*.

*Soc.* My author quotes Job xxxviii. 4, 7, to prove that the angels were then created. The 4th verse is, *Where wast thou when I laid the foundation of the earth? Declare, if thou hast understanding*. But I see no proof in this: therefore it must be ver. 7, which is, *the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy*: by these *sons of God* I suppose he means the angels, and because they shouted.

*Chr.* That is a strange proof out of the same verse where stars are said to sing! this is such an expression as Psalm xcvi. 8, *Let the floods clap their hands; let the hills be joyful, &c.*; and Psalm lxxv. 13, *The valleys are covered with corn; they shout for joy, they also sing*. And by the like figure all the host of heaven might be called *the sons of God*.

But to leave these forced and foreign proofs, I will now, according to my promise, give you some of the Ante-Nicene fathers' interpretation of this text.

St. Barnabas, in his Catholic Epistle, c. 5. p. 21,



speaking of the Lord Christ, says, “To whom God “spoke in the day before the foundation of the “world, *Let us make man in our image, after our “likeness*<sup>b</sup>.”

And again<sup>c</sup>, c. 6. p. 31, “For the scripture saith “of us, as he (the Father) said to the Son, *Let us “make man after our image.*”

Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, p. 265, calls it a heresy to say that this was spoken to the angels, or that the body of man was the workmanship of angels. But he says the Father here speaks to his Son, who came from the Father before all creatures. He confutes those rabbies who, depraving the scripture, says he, pretend that God spoke to himself when he said, *Let us make man*, or to the elements, or the earth, or any the like. He says that expression shews there was a number, at least two, that were together, and those he makes to be the Father and the Son; and that without all doubt, says he, the Father there speaks to one numerically different from himself, and to an intelligent person.

Irenæus says<sup>d</sup>, God spoke these words to the Son

<sup>b</sup> Πρὸς ὃν καὶ εἶπεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸ καταβολῆς αἰῶνος, ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν, καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν.

<sup>c</sup> Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς λέγει τῷ υἱῷ, ποιήσωμεν κατ’ εἰκόνα, καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

<sup>d</sup> Homo secundum similitudinem Dei formatus est, et per manus ejus plasmatus est, hoc est, per Filium et Spiritum; quibus et dixit, *Faciamus hominem*. Iren. advers. Hæres. Prefat. in lib. IV.

Idem ipse qui ab initio plasmavit Adam, cum quo et loquebatur Pater, *Faciamus hominem secundum imaginem et similitudinem nostram*, in novissimis temporibus se ipsum manifestans hominibus.—16. lib. V. c. 15.



and the Holy Ghost, and he calls them, metaphorically, the hands of God, by which he made man. And he says that the Son, who from the beginning made Adam, and with whom the Father spoke, saying, *Let us make man*, did *manifest himself to men in the latter days*.

Your historian says, that *our image* in the text is *the image of God and angels*. But Irenæus says, lib. IV. c. 37, the angels did not make us, and that they could not make the image of God, nor any other but the Word of God. Tertullian (*advers. Praxeam*, §. 11, 12.) says<sup>e</sup> that God, in this

<sup>d</sup> His itaque paucis, tamen manifeste, distinctio Trinitatis exponitur; est enim ipse qui pronunciat, Spiritus, et Pater ad quem pronunciat, et Filius de quo pronunciat. Sic et cætera quæ nunc ad Patrem de Filio, vel ad Filium, nunc ad Filium de Patre, vel ad Patrem, nunc ad Spiritum pronunciantur, unamquamque personam in sua proprietate constituunt. Si te adhuc numerus scandalizat Trinitatis, quasi non connexæ in unitate simplici, interrogo quomodo unicus et singularis pluraliter loquitur, *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram?* cum debuerit dixisse, *Faciam hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem meam*; utpote *unicus* et *singularis*: sed et in sequentibus, *Ecce Adam factus est tanquam unus ex nobis*. Fallit, aut ludit, ut cum unus et solus esset, numerâsse loqueretur: aut numquid angelis loquebatur, ut Judæi interpretantur, quia nec ipsi Filium agnoscunt; an quia ipse erat Pater, Filius, Spiritus, ideo pluralem se præstans, pluraliter sibi loquebatur? Immo quia jam adhærebat illi Filius, secunda Persona, Sermo ipsius; et tertia, Spiritus in Ser-mone, ideo *pluraliter* pronunciavit, *Faciamus* et *nostram* et *nobis*: cum quibus enim faciebat hominem, et quibus faciebat similem? cum Filio quidem, qui erat induturus hominem; Spiritu vero, qui erat sanctificaturus hominem, quasi cum ministris et arbitris, ex unitate Trinitatis loquebatur. Denique sequens scriptura distinguit inter Personas; *Et fecit Deus hominem, ad imaginem Dei fecit illum*. Cur non *suam*, si *unus* qui faciebat, et non erat ad ejus faciebat? Erat autem ad ejus imaginem faciebat; ad

text, did not speak to the angels, as the Jews interpret, who do not acknowledge the Son; but that he spoke to the Son and the Holy Ghost; and from hence he proves the Trinity in Unity, in express words, and as positive as Athanasius himself: he says, *Scripturæ omnes et demonstrationem et distinctionem Trinitatis ostendunt*; that is, “All the “scriptures shew both a demonstration and distinction of the Trinity.”

After, he quotes several texts where the Father speaks of and to the Son, and the Son of and to the Father, and the Holy Ghost, as a third person, of the Father and of the Son; as, *The Lord said to my Lord*, &c. And thence he proves the distinction of persons in the Trinity.

Origen (in Matt. p. 266.) says, none could raise Filii scilicet, qui homo futurus certior et verior, imaginem suam fecerat dici hominem qui tunc de limo formari habebat, imago veri et similitudo. Sed et in antecedentibus operibus mundi quomodo scriptum est? Primum quidem, nondum Filio apparente, *Et dixit Deus, fiat lux et facta est*: ipse statim Sermo lux vera, qui illuminat hominem venientem in hunc mundum, et per illum mundialis quoque lux. Exinde autem in Sermone Christo adsistente et administrante Deus voluerit fieri, et Deus fecit. *Et dixit Deus, Fiat firmamentum, et fecit Deus firmamentum; et dixit Deus, Fiant luminaria, et fecit Deus luminare majus et minus*; sed et cætera utique idem fecit qui et priora, id est, *Sermo Dei, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil*. Qui si ipse Deus est secundum Johannem, *Deus erat Sermo*, habes duos, alium dicentem ut fiat, alium facientem. Alium autem quomodo accipere debeas, jam professus sum; personæ, non substantiæ nomine, ad distinctionem, non ad divisionem. Cæterum, etsi ubique teneo unam substantiam in tribus cohærentibus, tamen alium dicam oportet ex necessitate sensus, eum qui jubet, et eum qui facit: nam nec juberet, si ipse faceret, dum juberet fieri per eum; tamen jubebat, haud sibi jussurus, si unus esset; aut sine jussu facturum, quia non expectasset ut sibi juberet.

the dead but he who had heard from the Father, *Let us make man in our image*; and none could command the wind and seas but he by whom they and all things else were made.

*Soc.* My author notes that the Socinian translation agrees with the style used all along in this chapter, ver. 5, *Let there be light*; ver. 6, *Let there be a firmament*, &c.

*Chr.* He must note again; for I cannot find in those words one syllable of invitation to the angels, or to any else, either to assist him or be spectators: but rather, on the contrary, it is a sole command from an absolute authority.

3. *Soc.* The next text he quotes is Gen. iii. 22. *God said, The man is become as one of us, to know good and evil.* To which he gives two answers: 1. that God spoke this to the angels; 2. that others translate the Hebrew words thus; *The man is become one of himself, knowing good and evil.* And he says that it is thus expressed in the Chaldee translation by Onkelos.

*Chr.* To his first answer, about the angels, we have spoke already: as to the translation of Onkelos, it is thus:

*Behold, Adam is only or alone in the age from himself.* (*Ecce Adam unicus est in sæculo ex se.*) The sense of which, I confess, is difficult: but your author prefers an obscure paraphrase before the literal reading of the Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Latin, which are all *verbatim* according to our English translation, and indeed which only can make sense of the words. For pray tell me, what is that to be *one of himself*? what purchase was this? what crime? that God banished him para-



dise for this? Doubtless it was the clearness and fulness of this interpretation which persuaded your author from the common and familiar reading of this text!

4. I will not trouble you with his exposition upon Gen. xi. 6, 7. *The Lord said, Let us go down, and there confound their language*: it is the like as to these before. But I would see his answer to Gen. xix. 24.

*Soc.* He repeats it thus, p. 44: *The Lord* (Heb. *Jehovah*) *rained fire from the Lord* (Heb. *Jehovah*) *out of heaven*; and says that the meaning is, “*Jehovah rained fire from himself*,” and refers to what he is to say on Zech. iii. 2.

*Chr.* And I will expect him at that place. In the meantime I will give you the sense of some of the Ante-Nicene fathers upon this text.

Just. Mart. (*Dial. cum Tryph. Jud.* p. 277, 279, 357.) interprets this of the Son, as a different person from the Father. Irenæus (*advers. Hæres.* lib. III. c. 6.) says the same, and proves Christ to be *definitive et absolute Deum*. And that he is *verus Deus et ex sua persona*, “true God absolutely,” and in his own person:” and that *the Lord rained fire from the Lord* was meant of him. Tertullian (*advers. Prax.* §. 13.) says the same, and proves the Trinity and Unity: *Deos duos non proferrimus*; “We do not profess two Gods:” and then he explains himself—*Non quasi non et Pater Deus, et Filius Deus, et Spiritus Sanctus Deus, et Deus unusquisque*; “Not that the Father “is not God, and the Son God, and the Holy “Ghost God, and each of them God,” &c.

Cyprian likewise (*Testimon.* lib. III. c. 33.) under-



stands this text, *The Lord rained fire from the Lord*, to be meant of Christ.

But I go on; from p. 45 to 51, and again from p. 53, your History names several texts which are spoke of God in the Old Testament, and in the same words are applied to Christ in the New Testament.

5. Let us examine some of them. It is said, Psalm xlv. 6, *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever*; this is applied to Christ, Heb. i. 8.

Soc. <sup>f</sup>In the Hebrew and in the Greek it is, *God is thy throne* (i. e. thy seat, resting-place, or establishment) *for ever*.

Chr. This I do deny; and if the words could be both ways in the original, that is, to bear the construction of *God is thy throne for ever*, or, *Thy throne, O God, is for ever*, (because the nominative and vocative are the same in the word *Theos*,) then the question will be, which of the ways we ought to take it? and I say the latter, for these reasons. First, Heb. i. 8. is a comparison betwixt Christ and the angels. And this text, in your sense, gives him no preference, because God is the establishment of the angels; and so this text may belong to an angel as well as unto Christ. Secondly, The subsequent part of the verse will not bear your interpretation, viz. *the sceptre of thy kingdom*. This is certainly Christ's sceptre and kingdom that is spoke of: and it is absolutely incongruous that the throne should not go along with the sceptre and kingdom, for they always belong to the same person: therefore the *throne* in this text is Christ's as well as the kingdom. Lastly, These fathers, who wrote before the

council of Nice, read this text as we do, and apply it to Christ as a proof of his Godhead. Cyprian *advers. Jud.* lib. II. c. 6. Tertul. *advers. Jud.* c. 14. Tert. *advers. Prax.* c. 13. Iren. *advers. Hæres.* lib. III. c. 6. Origen in John, p. 29. and upon this Psalm, in *Catena Corderii*, he says that *Christ is manifestly God.*

*Soc.* The Defence of the History, c. 7. p. 33, says this text may be applied to Solomon.

*Chr.* The apostle has applied it to Christ; and the primitive fathers, even before Nice, understood it, as we have seen, in a sense which cannot be applicable to Solomon: in what other sense that author would apply it to Solomon, let him see to it.

*Soc.* He says, that he who is called God in this place is said to have a God by whom he is anointed, which cannot belong to the supreme God.

*Chr.* This is spoke of God's exalting the human nature of Christ, in respect of which (as well as of his eternal generation) Christ calls God his Father and his God: against this your author offers nothing. But to proceed.

6. In that most elegant and wondrous rapture in the exaltation of God, Psal. lxviii. Christ our Lord was meant, as is evident from verse 18; *Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive: thou hast received gifts for men:* which St. Paul does expressly interpret and apply to Christ, Eph. iv. 8.

*Soc.* Our author says to this<sup>g</sup>, that this was “literally meant of God; and of Christ only by way of prophecy, or rather of emblem or accommodation.”

<sup>g</sup> Hist. Unitar. p. 47.

*Chr.* But still here is the same style and appellations which are given to none but to God and Christ. And God foreseeing that Christ would be taken for real God by these appellations, it is unaccountable that the scripture should every where assert this style, speaking of God and Christ so promiscuously, as that what is said of the one belongs to the other, and to none else. Whereby if we are not forced to acknowledge them to be one, yet it is such a colour and tentation as cannot possibly be supposed God would lay before us, without a design in him to lead us into so gross and capital an error; which it would be the highest blasphemy but to imagine.

But suppose this text to be no otherwise true of God, or not so literally, but as God is Christ; and so was a prophecy of God in Christ.

*Soc.* That indeed would end the business, and come the length of a demonstration.

*Chr.* St. Paul says, that *he who ascended*, in this text, *descended first into the lower parts of the earth,—and is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens.* He infers this text as a consequence from the gift of Christ to us, *to us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore*, he saith, *when he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.—And he gave some, apostles; some, prophets; and some, evangelists; &c.* These were the gifts given, and this gift of Christ was the *wherefore*, why David wrote that text. And no otherwise can God be said to have *descended into the lower parts of the earth, and thence to ascend up again on high;*

which St. Paul tells us is the true meaning of that text, and infers it from the text.

*Soc.* That Psalm was sung upon the removing of the ark.

*Chr.* That Psalm indeed begins with that form which you find Num. x. 35; but it goes on from thence to many other exaltations and triumphs of God, among which, to that of Christ's ascension, in the 18th verse of which the lifting up of the ark was but a type. And though there is an allusion between them, and they may be composed in many things, yet the full import of this text cannot be filled but in Christ, as I have already shewn from St. Paul. And I might have given more instances, but that these were sufficient. For example, it is said in the text, that *he received gifts for men*; from whom did God receive gifts to give to men?

*Soc.* St. Paul renders it——*gave gifts to men.*

*Chr.* Therefore both are true; Christ received from the Father, and gave unto men; and this cannot be verified in any other manner.

Again, it is said in the same verse, that he received these gifts for men, *yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them.*

Now see what sense this will be, if it be not intended of Christ; that God should receive gifts from some other, which would imply some other to be greater than God. And then the end of God's receiving these gifts, *that God might dwell among men.*

God purchased or procured from another, that himself *might dwell among men, or be gracious to men.*



But take notice of the Hebrew reading of this verse, as it is marked in the margent of our English Bibles; where what we render *for men*, is, according to the letter of the Hebrew, *in the man*; and then the verse goes thus; *Thou (Christ) hast received gifts in the man*, i. e. in thy manhood or human nature; for it was in this respect that he could be said to receive these gifts which he bestowed. And this cannot belong to God any otherwise than as Christ is God.

*Soc.* <sup>h</sup>These gifts not being given till about a thousand years after David's time, Paul could not possibly intend a literal interpretation of David's words, but only to accommodate them to Christ, because Christ also did ascend on high, and gave gifts to men. To this effect Grotius, Dr. Patrick, and other famous interpreters on this text.

*Chr.* Dr. Patrick says no such thing upon this Psalm, nor Grotius either upon this Psalm or the parallel place, Eph. iv. He speaks nothing of this bare way of accommodating only, which it may be to a hundred things, that is, I may apply or fancy several things like it. On the contrary, he says this text was fulfilled in Christ, and that more eminently than in God's descent upon mount Sinai, and ascending thence again. *Quanto autem hæc eminentius per Christum sunt impleta nemo non videt.* Thus Grotius in his notes upon Psal. lxxviii. 18. and upon Eph. iv. 8. The difference he makes 'twixt these two texts is, that the one was spoken to God, the other of God. So that he makes Christ apparently to be God, because the apostle certainly speaks this text of Christ. Then he takes notice of

<sup>h</sup> Hist. Unitar. p. 84.

St. Paul's putting the word *give* for *receive*, viz. that Christ *gave* gifts, instead of *received* gifts, as it is in the Psalm; and he says this is excellently applied to Christ, who received gifts from his Father, that he might give to men. Dr. Patrick says that this is far more magnificently fulfilled in Christ's ascension, than in God's ascension from Sinai. And you may suppose he deals with his other famous interpreters, whom he does not name, as he has done with Grotius and Dr. Patrick.

And for David's speaking this a thousand years before it came to pass, I suppose you will make no greater difficulty of it than of Psalm ii. where it is prophesied of Christ in the present tense, *This day I have begotten thee*, which your author interprets of this resurrection. All the ancient, even Ante-Nicene fathers, speaking of this text, Psalm lxviii. 18, with one consent do apply it to Christ; and not only by way of accommodation, as your historian speaks, but that it was an express prophecy of Christ, and fulfilled in him; which you may see in Just. Mart. *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 258. 315. Iren. *advers. Hæres.* lib. II. c. 36. lib. IV. c. 39. lib. V. c. 31. Tertullian *advers. Marcion.* lib. V. c. 8. *de Anima*, c. 55; and Just. Mart. in the abovesaid Dialogue, p. 255 to 258, applies to Christ, Psal. xxiv. *The earth is the Lord's—He hath founded it, &c.*; and that of Psalm xlvii. *God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet—God is the King of all the earth—The princes of the people are joined to the God of Abraham, &c.*; and Psalm xcix. *The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble—Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at his footstool—Moses and Aaron among his*

priests, &c.; and, Psalm xlv. *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, &c.*

Soc. But the Def. of the History, c. 7. p. 34, finds out that several places of the Old Testament are accommodated to other things in the New Testament; as these words; *Their sound went out into all the earth, and their words into the ends of the world*: “By which the heavens are meant, Psalm “ xix. 4. and other works of God, which (as it were) “ preach his wisdom and power and goodness to all “ nations.” And, Rom. x. 18, the apostle applies this “ to the preaching of the gospel all over the “ world.”

Chr. What would your author infer from hence?

Soc. That there is no harm in accommodating that to Christ in the New Testament what was spoken of God in the Old Testament, and he says such is the place in question.

Chr. That is to say, because one creature may be compared or accommodated to another, therefore it is lawful to accommodate to a creature the incommunicable attributes of God; and to apply to Christ (supposing him but a man) whatever we find written of God in the Old Testament.

But besides, I have shewn that this place in question is not only accommodated, but fulfilled in Christ, and consequently was originally meant of him, nay more eminently than of God, or as God otherwise than as he is in Christ. And this from your beloved Grotius, whom you would have to be a Socinian, and whom you quote upon this very place. But let us go on.

7. <sup>1</sup> Psalm xcvi. the majesty of God is gloriously

<sup>1</sup> Hist. p. 489.



set forth, in which the 7th verse is remarkable, which obviates the objection of inferior gods, who are there called *idols*, that is, when men pay divine honour to them; for that it is which makes any creature to become an idol: and though God communicates his name to creatures, and calls some of them gods, yet he will not share his worship nor give his honour to another: of this he expresses himself to be jealous, we must not come near it: and whoever arrogate it to themselves are idols and false gods; and those that pay it to them are idolaters, and

Exod. xx. 5. styled *the generation of those who hate God.*

God reckons this a hating or forsaking of him, and Jer. xlv. 4. calls it *the abominable thing that he hates.* And in detestation of these idols, and to shew how far they were from having worship paid to them, they are here commanded themselves to worship God. *Confounded be all they that delight in vain gods,* (as our common Prayer-Book translates it,) or *that boast themselves of idols,* (as the Bible translation;) *Worship him, all ye gods,* or angels, as St. Paul renders it. For angels are gods more than men, they are the greatest gods of the creation; but when Matt. iv. 9, they claim worship to themselves, they become  
10. devils; and if we worship them, we make them idols to us; for no created excellency can advance any being so far, as not still to be at an infinite distance from God; and therefore no creature can partake of his worship: and therefore either the Son must not be adorable, or he must not be a creature.

And now what invention could contrive a more positive and uncontroversible manner of calling the Son God, than to say, *Let all the angels of God,* or *Let all other gods, worship him.* What is this but



to call him the supreme God? and manifestly to make the distinction 'twixt God by nature and by office? All these gods by office are to worship the God by nature; *Worship him, all ye gods*; and this Heb. i. 6. the apostle applies to Christ, and says, that *it was spoke of him*; and how to call him God more directly and palpably cannot be supposed.

*Soc.* My author says, that Heb. i. 6. is not rendered right in our English translation, which says, *Again, when he bringeth the firstbegotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.*

But my author says<sup>k</sup>, that in the Greek it is, *when he bringeth again the firstbegotten into the world*; that is, when he raised Christ from the dead.

*Chr.* He mistakes; for the Greek is not as he quotes it; indeed the Greek puts *when* before *again*, ὅταν δὲ πάλιν, and literally runs thus; *when again he bringeth*; but it is not *when he bringeth again*, as your author slyly insinuates, that he might get it applied to Christ's resurrection. But what the meaning of *again* is in that verse is put past any doubt, by repeating the words immediately preceding; for the apostle is giving several instances, and so repeats the words again and again, which is a most common and familiar way of speaking, and I believe never misunderstood but in this place. Read the 5th verse, *Unto which of the angels said he, Thou art my Son? And again, I will be to him a Father—and again, when he bringeth the firstbegotten into the world*—what ordinary wit could have found out a new meaning for the last *again*, different from those going before it?

<sup>k</sup> Hist. p. 49.

*Soc.* But why did not the English translation keep the very order of the words, as it is in the Greek, and as you have now last repeated it?

*Chr.* Because it is not so good English; *when again* is not the English style so much as *again when*, though they both mean the same thing: and this rule was never observed in any translation; for the placing of the words is different in most languages; and in this very text the Greek words are in this order, *when but again he bringeth*, ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ, which is not so good English as, *but again when he bringeth*, and I suppose you will say is not a worse translation.

But, as I said before, all this art is lost, for unless the word *again* come after the word *bringeth*, it will not serve his turn, and in the Greek it is put before the word *bringeth*, which quite spoils his criticism. But he is resolved this shall not spoil it; and therefore he ventures boldly, and says, that in the Greek 'tis, *when he bringeth again*.

*Soc.* But he has another answer; he says<sup>1</sup>, "'Tis uncertain whether St. Paul had any respect to the Psalm."

*Chr.* But he tells no ground he had for that uncertainty: all the difference 'twixt these texts is this; the Psalm says *gods*, (*worship him, all ye gods*,) which St. Paul renders *angels*, (*let all the angels of God worship him*,) which he knew to be included in the meaning and import of the word *gods*; and the reason of his doing it is, because he is there making a comparison 'twixt Christ and the angels: so that the putting in the word *angels* for *gods* is only applying the text of the Psalm to his present subject.

<sup>1</sup> Page 40.

Then the one says, *worship him*, the other, *let them worship him*; which is no alteration at all, unless you would insist that the texts ought to be quoted syllabically; which is not observed, nor ought to be in any translation, because of the different idioms of tongues, which must be observed to translate it into sense. But the inspired penmen of the New Testament take greater latitude, and in their quotations of the Old Testament stick only to the sense, and often vary the expression; of which there are many examples. Exod. xxii. 28. it is written, *Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people*: St. Paul repeating this text quotes it thus, *Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler* Acts xxiii. *of thy people*; by the word *gods* here was meant <sup>5.</sup> the judges and governors of the land, and therefore St. Paul applying it to them puts in the word *ruler*, as in the former case the word *angels* instead of the word *gods*. This I grant we have not authority to do; we are bound up to the words; but St. Paul speaking by the same inspiration that did dictate the text he quotes, his quotation is at the same time a most authentic exposition of the text.

Many more examples may be given of the like liberty taken in the New Testament in their quotation out of the Old, which shall be produced if it be denied; for now I would be as brief as possible.

But now it is no ways material whether St. Paul quoted this from this Psalm, or from the Septuagint translation of Deut. xxxii. 42, as Origen thinks, *περὶ Εὐχῆς*; for still it was God spoke these words, and they were spoke of Christ.

*Soc.* He does not insist much upon this; it was but to divert you; he has another answer: he



says<sup>m</sup>, “ That if St. Paul had respect to this Psalm, “ yet he does not quote the words of the Psalmist “ as if they were spoken of Christ; but only declares the decree of God (known to him by the “ Spirit) for subjecting the angels to Christ, in the “ same words that the Psalmist had used on another occasion, because they are words most proper to express that decree; for the writers of the “ New Testament generally affect to speak in scripture language.”

*Chr.* You allow that by the word *firstbegotten* in the text, Heb. i. 6, Christ is meant.

*Soc.* Yes, certainly; our author acknowledges it in this same place.

*Chr.* And St. Paul says positively that this was said of the *firstbegotten*; for after several other texts which St. Paul quotes as spoken of him, he brings in this as one: *He (God) said, Thou art my Son*——and again, *I will be to him a Father*——and again, *When he bringeth the firstbegotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.* All this was visibly spoken of the same person, and altogether; yet your author says these last words were not spoken of Christ: to say that one of these texts was not spoken of him, though the rest were, and to give no reason, nor so much as a presumption for this, but to think to put it upon his *ipse dixit*, this is beyond example; it shews a resolved man struggling even to death under the weight of truth.

*Soc.* He says this was only a prophecy of Christ.

*Chr.* *Ergo* it was true, and *ergo* it was spoken



of Christ, which your author denies, and yet cannot deny it.

*Soc.* He says these were the fittest words to express it.

*Chr.* They were indeed : but what is the reason ?

*Soc.* Because the writers of the New Testament affect to speak in scripture language.

*Chr.* But do they affect to ascribe to creatures the glorious attributes of God ? Is it lawful to apply to a man whatever I find said of God, because I affect to speak in scripture language ; and because I find all the angels of God commanded to worship God, must I therefore bid them worship one who is not God ? And notwithstanding that in the same place I find all them cursed and confounded who worship any other but God.

If our side should produce such a reason as this, what mercy would you have on us ? It would require more implicit faith to swallow such reasoning, than even the notion of the Trinity.

But this I must confess, that there never was a cause more obstinately defended ; he fights to the last man, and leaves nothing unsaid, whether it be true or false, whatever may amuse or put off——.

But this, with considering men, plucks up his cause by the very roots ; and though they may admire the variety of his shifts and turnings, it is but to see with how much pains and skill he quits his hold.

*Soc.* The Def. of the History, chap. 7. p. 35, says, that “ this answer of the historian is a very sound “ and judicious answer.”

*Chr.* This is the best argument he brings to

prove it, and yet he wonders people will not be satisfied with it.

*Soc.* He has found out a text, Deut. xxxii. 43, where, instead of *Rejoice, ye nations, with his people*, which is the English translation, he says the Seventy renders it thus; καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ, i. e. *Let all angels of God worship him*. And he would rather have the apostle's quotation to be from this place, because, he says, these words in Deut. are not spoken of God, but of God's people, the Israelites; and if this can be said of God's people, he hopes it may be said of Christ too, without concluding from thence that he is the supreme God.

*Chr.* These words in the English are indeed spoken of God's people: *Rejoice with his people*. But the Greek reading he quotes cannot be meant of the people, but of God; and yet their meaning is the same; they are both a result from the consideration of God's vengeance upon his enemies, and mercy to his people. The one invites the nations to rejoice for this with his people; the other, for this, introduces the angels' adoration, not of the people, (that is an absurd thought,) but of God, for his mercy to his people; which is plain from the very words. Thus then according to the Greek; *Let the angels of God worship him, for he will avenge the blood of his servants, &c.* But your author would have it, *Let the angels of God worship the people, because God will avenge, &c.*

Is not the *him* there (*worship him*) the same *him* with *he* who *will avenge, &c.*? But you would have the first *him* mean the people, (*worship him*,) and the second to mean God, (*he will avenge*;) to call

the people *him* in this place is a sort of Welsh or Highland English. But this is done by that authority and strength of reason which interpreted the *and* and the *thou*, Heb. i. 10, which you shall see presently, and is a masterpiece of the Socinian subtilty and integrity. In the meantime we must lose our pretty conceit from the Greek version of Deut. xxxii. 43, and the idolatrous inference we would have brought from it, of commanding angels to worship men. If men's worshipping angels be idolatry, for angels to worship men must be a preposterous and monstrous idolatry, and makes angels more foolish than men: besides, I suppose that your author believes that it was the good angels were here spoke of; and he makes them idolaters too: no matter; any thing to avoid the divinity of Christ.

But, after all, it is most probable that by *angels* in this text no more is meant than *the nations* mentioned in the English translation; and so there will not be that discrepancy betwixt the Greek and English translations which we imagine. We know the Jews reckoned all the Gentile nations to be seventy, and that every of these nations had a president angel to govern it; but that God took the government of Israel to himself. And these president angels are often put for the nations whom they governed: thus it is in the 8th verse of this chapter; where Moses is repeating God's great regard to Israel, even in the days of old, before they were a people; in that, after the flood, when he divided the world into nations, he did it with respect to the seventy sons of Israel, (Exod. i. 5.) for he divided it just into seventy nations, which are all particularly named in the

tenth of Genesis ; the sons of the three sons of Noah there reckoned being just seventy. The seventy nations, say the Jews, God committed to the care of seventy angels, but he reserved Israel for his own government. Here was the theocracy, and indeed there is a leading to this, or great part of it, in the words of the text : *Remember the days of old*, says Moses, Deut. xxxii. 7, *consider the years of many generations—when the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel* : the Seventy read it, *according to the number of the angels*, which is the same number, according to the Jewish computation, (i. e. seventy.) *For (or but) the Lord's portion is his people ; Jacob is the lot (or cord, i. e. the extent) of his inheritance*, of his theocratical government ; leaving to his angels the immediate government of the seventy nations of the Gentiles.

Here then *angels* being put for *the nations* by the seventy interpreters in the 8th verse, why may we not reasonably conclude that it is taken in the same sense in the 43d verse of the same chapter, where the seventy nations are called upon to praise God with his people Israel ?

But whether it be so or be not so, it can never make your author's sense, to have the angels worship the people.

*Soc.* But my defender has another salvo for this text, Heb. i. 6, *When he bringeth the firstbegotten into the world he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.* My author says that was *the heavenly world* ; i. e. when God brought Christ into



heaven after his resurrection, it was then the angels were to worship him.

*Chr.* Why? were they not to worship him before? But does that Defence-maker name any authority, any various reading of the text, or the interpretation of any father, or any sort of reason, for his addition to the text, and putting the word *heavenly* to *world*.

*Soc.* No; only says it is as if the apostle should have said so and so.

*Chr.* For the future, I desire you would advise him to let the apostle speak his own words, and not to run the hazard, Rev. xxii. 18, of having all the plagues written in the book added to him, for adding to any part of the word of God; or to think to impose upon unwary readers by corrupting, instead of explaining, the texts of holy scripture: but we have been too long with this, let us go on to the next.

8. Psal. cii. 25. *Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth: and the heavens are the works of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure: yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end:* this is applied to Christ, Heb. i. 10.

*Soc.* My author will not have this spoke of Christ in that place of Heb. but of God only <sup>n</sup>.

*Chr.* Does he tell to what end these words are brought there by the apostle?

*Soc.* No; but he endeavours to make out the

<sup>n</sup> Hist. p. 50.

coherence thus : *And, Thou, Lord, hast laid the foundation of the earth——But to which of the angels said he, Sit thou on my right hand?* as he saith to Christ, Psal. cx. 1.

*Chr.* This is such a way of shewing a coherence ! even imagination cannot find any thing like a coherence in it.

*Soc.* It was the Founder of the earth said, *Sit on my right hand.*

*Chr.* And did the apostle repeat over so distinctly three whole verses out of Psalm cii. to shew that it was the *Founder of the earth*, that is, God, who said, *Sit on my right hand*, in Psalm cx ? which nobody even doubted, and is sufficiently declared in the words themselves, Psal. cx. 1, *The Lord said unto my Lord*, and is not at all proved by these words, Psalm cii. where the Psalmist is treating of another subject.

But pray tell me to what purpose was the word *and*, Heb. i. 10 ? *And, Thou, Lord, in the beginning——*. From the 3d verse there is a comparison carried on betwixt Christ and the angels, and several particulars are reckoned wherein he had the preeminence above the angels, all joined together with the copulative *and* ; viz. Christ had the preeminence in this, *and* this, *and* this——*unto which of the angels said he, Thou art my Son. And again, I will be to him a Father——And again, to the Son he saith, Let all the angels of God worship him——And, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever——And, Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth——* Now our historian excepts this last *and*, and says it must not belong to the same person to whom all the rest do

belong that go before it, and that follow it through the whole chapter: and gives no other reason for it, than for the sake of that fine coherence you have seen above; that is, indeed, to destroy the whole coherence of that chapter, and make it not only nonsense, but a downright fallacy and prevarication in the apostle. To slip in a text which belonged only to God, among those texts which were meant of Christ, and to reckon it as one of the number by the copulative *and*; whereas it should have been expressly excepted with a *but*. This was said of *Christ*, *and* this, *and* this; *but* this was said of *God* only. Thus it must have been expressed in the historian's sense: in which there is no reason in the world for bringing in these texts of Psalm cii; there is no connexion between them and the rest; they disturb and confound the whole meaning and drift of the place; and cannot be reconciled to fair meaning nor honesty in the writer.

*Soc.* The Defence of the History says, c. 7. p. 34, that the 10th verse of Heb. i. viz. *Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth*—is not cited by the apostle as spoken of Christ, or with intention to accommodate it to him; but because it was necessary for explaining the word *they* [*they shall perish*] in the following words, which he had occasion to use for expressing the duration of Christ's kingdom.

To make you understand this, you must know that my author applies expressly to Christ the 11th and 12th verses of Heb. i. viz. *They* (the heavens and the earth) *shall perish; but thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall*

*be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years fail not.*

These words, he saith, are a description of the duration of Christ's kingdom, which is immutable, and will last for ever, and are a confirmation of what went before, Psal. xlv. *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.* These two scriptures, Psal. xlv. 6, 7. and Psal. cii. 25, 26, 27, he says the apostle quotes for the same purpose, viz. to shew the duration of Christ's kingdom, which are separated from one another only by the word *and*.

*Chr.* I thought *and* had been a copulative, that did not separate, but join things together: and so I suppose your author will allow it in all places that ever were read, except the first *and* in the 10th verse of the 1st chapter to the Hebrews, which is the *and* he here speaks of: for if *and* be *and* there, then these words, *And, Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, &c.* must belong to Christ, as well as all the other *ands* which are mentioned in the same place.

But here is another piece of arbitrary interpretation, which exceeds making copulatives disjunctives, or any thing else that ever I read, except in your author: it will not need a confutation; shewing it to you will be sufficient.

Read these words, Heb. i. 10, 11, 12, *Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of thine hands: they shall perish; but thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.*



Now who would imagine but all this was spoken of the same person?

I suppose it will not be denied but the prophet meant them all of the same person when he first wrote them, Psal. cii; and how the apostle came to alter it in the quotation is somewhat difficult to apprehend.

*Thou* didst this, and *thou* didst this, and *thou* didst this, says the apostle, of Christ, repeating the words which the prophet had spoken of God.

Says our new author, the first *thou* shall not belong to Christ, nor so much as be accommodated to him; but all the rest of the *thous* shall belong to him, and to nobody else. This is to solve the difficulty of the *ands*, which we have spoke of before.

But what was the first *thou* brought in for, if it was not intended to mean the same person with all the rest of the *thous* which did follow? or why was it not told us that one *thou* was meant of one person, and another of another, to prevent mistakes, especially in so material a point as that of mistaking a creature for God? And when the expression was so necessary to be mistaken, that there was no possibility of avoiding it, without taking words and expressions in such a sense as there is not one precedent for in any language, or any writing, that ever was upon the face of the earth; nor would any man in the world be understood that spoke or wrote in that manner.

And then to give it as a reason for all this, that it was necessary to understand the first *thou*, ver. 20, of a different person from all the others for explaining the following words; whereas it is that which confounds them, and puts them out of all

rules of speaking intelligibly among mankind : and then to exult in this, and cry out, “ And now I appeal to any reader, whether this be an absurd sense? Is not this explication clear? But is not the sense which the Trinitarians would put upon this place both absurd and inconsistent?” This was modest ! But have you any more upon this text ?

*Soc.* He proves, that suppose Christ had indeed created the world, yet the creation cannot be ascribed to him in this place, Heb. i. 10.\*

*Chr.* That will make some amends for his *thous* and his *ands* : pray let us hear his proof.

*Soc.* Because the apostle in this chapter does not speak of what is natural or essential to Christ, but of what he has received from God.

*Chr.* How does he prove this ?

*Soc.* He says this appears by verse 4 ; the words are these, *being made so much better than the angels*. Therefore the apostle’s scope is to shew the excellency that Christ obtained, not by nature, or of himself, but that which he had by donation.

*Chr.* Why might not the apostle shew it both ways ? both from the excellency Christ had by nature and by donation ?

*Soc.* My author does not meddle with that ; but he is very angry at the word *inheritance*, verse 4 ; viz. that Christ should have *by inheritance a more excellent name than angels*. He says the words *by inheritance* are false ; for the name Christ has obtained came to him by free donation, and not by inheritance.

*Chr.* To ask my former question, why may it not be both ; both by donation and inheritance ? It is

\* Def. Hist. p. 34.

said, verse 2, that *God appointed Christ heir of all things. I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance*, Ps. ii. 8; so that your author shewed too much rage, *per inadvertence*, at the word *inheritance*, to say that it was false, and that Christ had it not by *inheritance*.

*Soc.* "Having thus shewn," says my author, "that Christ is not said to have created the world——"

*Chr.* Ay! Having shewn it indeed, as he has shewn all the rest; by such arbitrary supposes and consequences, which sometimes are past all human understanding, of which we have had a taste: but we must have more.

*Soc.* I pass here several texts named in this History, because I would come to the most material, and not to swell this to too great a bulk. And now I come to the Prophets.

9. *Chr.* Your Historian<sup>p</sup> names Isai. vi. 1. 8, 9. *I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne——I heard the voice of the Lord——Go tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not——Shut their eyes, &c.* This appearance of God is ascribed to Christ, John xxii. 41. *These things said Esaias when he saw his glory,*

*Soc.* "The words in St. John are to be understood, not of Christ, but of God; for God only is intended in the foregoing verse, as all confess."

*Chr.* I wonder he did not light upon this answer before.

*Soc.* How could that be, till he came to this text?

*Chr.* Yes, it will serve all the texts which the New Testament brings out of the Old. We argue that what is said of God in the Old Testament is

applied to Christ in the New; and that therefore Christ must be God. He answers, such a text was spoken of God, *ergo*, says he, not of Christ: which is not only begging the question, but if it were not spoke of God, it would be no argument in this cause: but he cunningly slips in the word *only*, that God only is intended in the foregoing verse: that God is intended, we say; but that it is to the exclusion of Christ, he must prove.

All the question will be, who is meant by the *his* in the text; *These things said Esaias when he saw his glory*. The next words are material, which our author has left out in his quotation, and which make out the remainder of that short verse; *These things said Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him*.

*Soc.* How then shall we know who is this *him*?

John xii.

36, 37, 38,  
41, 42.

*Chr.* Read before and after, and you will plainly see whom the apostle is there speaking of. *These things spake Jesus, and hid himself. But though he had done so many miracles—yet they believed not on him: that the saying of Esaias might be fulfilled—These things said Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him. Nevertheless among the chief rulers many also believed on him—but they did not confess him.*

Now to say that every one of these *his* and *him* must refer to the Jesus who is there mentioned, except one *his* in the middle, and that must be meant of another, is a confounding the sense and all propriety of speaking; it is like the *ands* and *thous* before mentioned.

But it is wrote, that *Esaias said these things when he saw his glory, and spake or prophesied of*



him; as *Abraham rejoiced to see his day*, so says Grotius (*in loc.*) *Esaias saw the glory of Christ*.

Was it God that Esaias prophesied of, or Christ?

But these words, *Go unto this people*, in the above-said text of Isaiah, are ascribed to the Holy Ghost, Acts xxviii. 25, 26. *Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias, saying, Go unto this people, &c.*

*Soc.* Our author answers<sup>q</sup>, that was “because the  
“vision and all the words there mentioned were a  
“scene wrought in the prophet’s mind (not exhibited  
“to his outward senses) by the Spirit or power of  
“God.”

*Chr.* Do you apprehend the meaning of this answer?

*Soc.* It is somewhat difficult.

*Chr.* I confess it exceeds my understanding: I cannot see the consequence of it. “Because the vision was a scene wrought in the prophet’s mind:” therefore, what? therefore that which the prophet ascribes to God, the apostle does not ascribe to the Holy Ghost. Will this follow? nay the Holy Ghost speaks here as a person, *that I should heal them.* verse 27.

*Soc.* Our author says nothing of that.

But in Mr. Biddle’s Exposition of Isa. vi. 9, 10. published (with other of our tracts) an. 1691. called *The Faith of one God*, &c. p. 12. disputing against this topic of yours, of drawing arguments from texts of the Old Testament spoken of God, which seemed to be applied to Christ in the New, gives one instance for all, to confound you for ever; for he proves that by this method Esaias as well as Christ must be God; because that text, Isa. lxxv. 1, *I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found*

<sup>q</sup> Page 54.

*of them that sought me not: I said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name, is in the tenth of the Romans, verse 20, ascribed to Isaiah, But Esaias is very bold, and saith, I was found of them that sought me not, &c. "therefore," says Mr. Biddle, "Isaiah is the Lord."* And thus he ridicules the arguments drawn from this head.

*Chr.* I thank you very kindly for this, whereby to expose that pragmatical heretic, and ignorant pedant schoolmaster, John Biddle, your great and admired apostle. I cannot think he had a boy of ten years of age in his school, who reading that text, Rom. x. 20, could understand it as if Isaiah had spoke those words, Isa. lxxv. 1, of himself, or that the apostle could so possibly misunderstand him; and not rather that he quoted this out of Isaiah, as what Isaiah repeated from the mouth of God, and spoke in the name of God, and not of Isaiah: the whole context shews it. Whoever will believe Biddle to have had sense or reason, after this, has a pitch of reason fit to be a Socinian. But let's go on.

10. Isa. vii. 14. *A virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.* 'Tis added, Matt. i. 23, *which being interpreted is, God with us.*

*Soc.* <sup>r</sup> St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and therefore did not interpret the Hebrew name.

*Chr.* But if he wrote in Hebrew, for the sake of the Jews, as some think, it is generally believed that he wrote the same Gospel in Greek too; or translated his own Hebrew into Greek, or some other of the inspired penmen of the scripture, and therefore the

<sup>r</sup> Hist. p. 55.

Greek of St. Matthew's Gospel is acknowledged for scripture by all the Christian church.

*Soc.* But our author says, "that we are not bound to submit to the interpretation of the Greek translator, being an unknown and obscure person."

*Chr.* Does he offer any proof for this?

*Soc.* No, he says no more of this.

*Chr.* Then he makes good his character, that he never wants something to say, be it true or false. But we go on.

11. Is. viii. 14. *He shall be a stone of stumbling, &c.* This is spoken of God in the prophet, and applied to Christ, Rom. ix. 33. 1 Pet. ii. 8.

*Soc.* \*This is only as Christ was also a stone of stumbling, not that he was the same stumbling-stone which the prophet spoke of.

*Chr.* But the apostle calls him that same stumblingstone. *They stumbled at that stumbling-* Rom. ix. 32. *stone; as it is written, Behold, I lay in Sion a stumblingstone, &c.*

12. The next is a great text, Isa. ix. 6, 7, *Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: he shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, to order and establish it with judgment and justice from henceforth and for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts shall perform this.*

*Soc.* "This cannot be a prophecy of Christ, because it speaks of a Prince actually born at that time, *Unto us a child is born*†."

\* Hist. p. 55

† P. 57.



*Chr.* It is the language of prophecy to speak of things to come as present: nay, sometimes as of things done and past; *The Lord said unto my Lord*; which your author acknowledges to be a prophecy of Christ. *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*; which your author says is meant of Christ's resurrection. *Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek*: spoken of Christ so long before. But this is too obvious to be insisted on; your author himself acknowledges it, though now he has a bad memory; he insists upon it, and proves it, p. 104, and gives several instances.

*Soc.* Then there is no way to escape the force of this text, but what our author has taken, which is, to deny the translation. He says in the Hebrew it is thus: *Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given*——*the wonderful Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father shall name him The Peaceable Prince: his government shall be multiplied*, (i. e. he shall reign long, even twenty-nine years,) *and he shall have very great peace*——*from henceforth to the end of his life. The zeal of the Lord of hosts shall perform this*; i. e. God's love to his chosen people shall make good this prophecy. For, he says, all this was spoken of Hezekiah, because he reigned twenty-nine years, and in that time there was only one expedition against him, and that also unsuccessful.

*Chr.* It belonged more literally to queen Elizabeth, who reigned almost twice as long, and in great peace, except the one expedition of the Spanish armada, and that also unsuccessful.

It is a great degree of obstinacy to interpret such



wonderful, lofty, and mysterious words, each of which commands admiration, only to mean that a king reigned twenty-nine years. Can that go down with any man of common sense?

But this itself must not do, for his reading of the text is wholly out of his own head.

*Soc.* He says it is so in the Hebrew.

*Chr.* He says so, but he does not offer to prove it. And because this is so mighty and unanswerable an authority proving the divinity of Christ, and that our author is driven to his last shifts upon it, I will take pains to set down out of the Polyglot Bible the several translations of this text. And I will not alter the words, though it will make them bad English, that you may see what ground our author had for his bold alteration of this text.

The Hebrew then is thus: *A child is born to us, a son is given to us; and the principality shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Admirable Counsellor, God, Strong, Father of Eternity, Prince of Peace, to multiply principality, and to peace no end.*

The Chaldee Paraphrase: *A man-child is born to us, a son is given to us; and he shall take the law upon him, that he may keep it; and his name shall be called from the face of the admirable counsel, God, a Man enduring to eternity, Christ; whose peace shall be multiplied upon us in his days.*

Syriac: *A man-child is born to us, a son is given to us; and his empire is made upon his shoulder; and his name is called Admiration, and Counsellor, The most mighty God of Ages, The Prince of Peace: of whose principality to plenty and peace there shall be no bound.*

Arabic: *A man-child is born to us, a son is given to us; whose dominion is upon his shoulders; and his name shall be called The Angel of great Counsel, The admirable Counsellor, The strong God, The Emperor, The Lord of Peace, The Father of the age to come. For I am to bring peace to princes, peace and safety to themselves. His dominion shall be most great, and of his peace there shall be no end.*

Greek: *A young child is born to us, and a son is given to us; whose government is upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called The Angel of great Counsel, Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty Lord, Prince of Peace, Father of the age to come. For I will bring peace to princes, and health to him. MS. A. I will bring peace and health. His principality is great, and of his peace there is no bound.*

Add to this, that these epithets which your author would not in this text have applied to Christ, but turns the words that they may belong only to God, as, *Wonderful Counsellor*, or *Angel of Counsel*, *The mighty God*, &c. are even by the Ant-Nicene fathers applied to Christ; Just. Mart. *Dial. cum Tryph. Jud.* p. 301, 355. Iren. *advers. Hær.* lib. IV. c. 66. Tertull. *De Carne Christi*, c. 14. Origen in Joh. p. 32, 42. Cyprian *advers. Jud.* c. 21. Clement. Alexandr. *Pædagog.* lib. I. c. 5.

13. Isa. xliv. 6. *Thus saith the Lord, I am the first and the last.* This is applied to Christ, Rev. i. 8, 17. and xxi. 6, &c.

Soc. My author says<sup>u</sup> that Christ was *the first* (that is, the most honourable) *and last*, (that is, the

<sup>u</sup> Hist. p. 59.

most despised of men;) the first with good men, and the last with evil men.

*Chr.* That is, something may be said of every thing: but *the first and the last* are in this same chapter of the Rev. synonymous with *Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending*. And God <sup>Ver. 8, 11, 17.</sup> is described, ver. 4, thus; *He who is, and was, and is to come*. Tertullian (*advers. Prax.* c. 17, 18. p. 510.) proves the attributes of God to belong to Christ; *Omnia, inquit, Patris mei sunt; cur non et nomina? All that the Father hath are mine*, says Christ; and why not his names too? *Sed et nomina Patris*—the attributes of the Father; as, *God Omnipotent, Most High, the God of hosts, the King of Israel, and Who is*—*hæc dicimus et in Filium competisse*—these belong likewise to the Son, who is *suo jure Deus Omnipotens, qua Sermo Dei Omnipotentis*—i. e. “God Almighty in his own right, as being the “Word of the Almighty God.” And he proves this text we are upon, Rev. i. 8, to belong to Christ. *I am the Lord, who is, and was, and is to come, the Almighty. Cum et Filius Omnipotentis tam Omnipotens sit quam Deus Dei Filius*; i. e. “Seeing the Son of the Almighty is Almighty, as the “Son of God is God.”

Origen (in Joh. p. 5. of tom. II.) observes that none of the evangelists did so manifestly declare the divinity of Christ, αὐτοῦ τὴν Θεότητα, as John did. And among other texts of St. John which he there reckons up, as proving the divinity of Christ, he quotes Rev. i. 8. and xxii. 13. *I am Alpha and Omega; the beginning and the ending; the first and the last.*



And St. Cyprian does the same, *advers. Jud.* c. 1. p. 32. and c. 6. p. 35. I will not pretend but you may interpret this too; for there are several beginnings and several endings: and I am to-day, was yesterday, and will be to-morrow: and I may take to myself God's name, *I Am*; and many other things said of God I may accommodate to myself: but this appellation is peculiar to God; you will not find in all the scripture any creature called in this style; which is the argument insisted on, viz. that the most peculiar appellations of God are given to Christ. But we shall have occasion to speak more of this upon another text by and by.

14. <sup>s</sup>Isa. xlviii. 16. *I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; from the time that it was, there am I: and now the Lord God hath sent me, and his Spirit hath sent me.*

*Soc.* The *I*, in this text, is not Christ, but the prophet; for Christ was not sent at that time.

*Chr.* This has been answered already, viz. that the style of the prophets is to speak of things to come as present, or even as past. Nay, our author pleads guilty, and says<sup>y</sup>, notwithstanding his objection, that this was spoke of *a great prince to come*.

Origen, in Joh. tom. II. p. 57, says, this text was meant of Christ; and thence proves that he was sent both by the Father and the Holy Ghost; and (in Matt. p. 323.) that both were sent by the Father for the salvation of man.

*Soc.* *There am I*; that is, I declare it as clearly as if I were present on the place.

*Chr.* Can you find in any language one example of this way of speaking? Suppose I were to tell

<sup>x</sup> Hist. p. 60.

<sup>y</sup> P. 61.



you that such a child was born, and that I was there; and I should say to you, *from the time that it was, there am I*; would you understand me? would you not bid me speak some other sort of language?

Observe, I pray you, this whole chapter, Isaiah xlviii. is spoken in the person of God, and not of the prophet. There God calls upon them, *Hearken unto me, O Jacob; I am he; I am the first and the last. Mine hand hath laid the foundation of the earth, &c.*—*I, even I, have spoken—I have called him; I have brought him. Come ye near unto me; I have not spoken in secret from the beginning, &c.*; as in this text. It was not Isaiah who spoke *from the beginning*. There is not an *I* in all this chapter, either before or after this verse, but what is expressly meant of God, and incommunicable to any creature. But this single *I* must be excepted, as before the *ands* and the *thous*, though it is set down continuedly, and undistinguished from any of the rest. Nor could this one *I* in the 16th verse be a transition to another person from all the other *I*'s through the whole chapter, without a design to deceive the reader, there being not the least hint, or intimation, or possibility of it, by any rule or usage of language in the whole world: nor can ver. 16 be explained of any other person but of Christ, whom the Lord God and his Spirit sent.

*Soc.* But this is a proof, says my author, that Christ was not God, because he was sent by God.

*Chr.* Do not we say that Christ was sent by God?

*Soc.* Yes.

*Chr.* Why then do you bring that as an objection

against our opinion, which is in the very words wherein we express our opinion? Does not the Apostles' Creed say that Christ was conceived of the Holy Ghost? much more may he be sent by him.

But observe that in this text it is said of Christ, that the Lord sent him. Here is a plain distinction put betwixt God and his Spirit: God sent, and his Spirit sent; which if they be both the same person bears this sense; *I sent, and I sent*; that is, it expresses the difference betwixt *I* and *myself*: therefore you must allow God and his Spirit to be persons; and that Christ, being *made flesh*, was sent into the world by them both.

15. There is a most plain text which he quotes next to this, Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. *I will raise unto David a righteous Branch. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely: and this is the name whereby he shall be called, The Lord (Heb. Jehovah) our Righteousness<sup>z</sup>.*

*Soc.* In the Hebrew it is, *This is the name which they shall call the Lord our Justifier*; that is, in the happy days of the Branch, the nation shall call God their *Justifier* or *Deliverer*<sup>a</sup>.

*Chr.* The very reading the context shews the absurdity of this translation; for it is God who is speaking, and speaking only of the *righteous Branch*, describing him; and telling how he shall be called; *The day is come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign—In his days Judah shall be saved—And this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord (Jehovah) our Righteousness.*

<sup>z</sup> Hist. p. 61.

<sup>a</sup> P. 62.

Hebrew: *And this is his name which they shall call him, The Lord our Righteousness.*

Paraph. Chald. *This is his name by which they shall call him, Righteousness shall be to us from the face of the Lord in his days.*

Syriac: *And this is his name by which they shall call him, The Lord our Righteousness.*

Arabic: *And this is his name by which they shall call him, The Lord Josedec, which signifies the just Lord, or the justice of the Lord.*

Greek: *This is the name which the Lord shall call him, Josedec.*

Here you see it is the Lord who calls the Branch by this name, instead of the Lord's being called so by others.

16. Chr. Mich. v. 2. *Thou Bethlehem, out of thee shall come unto me that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting; or, as it is in the margin, from the days of eternity.*

Soc. By *goings forth* is meant only pedigree; that is, whose pedigree was ancient.

Chr. This is pretty arbitrary, and your author gives no reason for it; but I suppose that this is the first time that *going forth* has been taken for a man's pedigree, and I believe he will not do it again. But how do you get over the words *from everlasting*?

Soc. In the Hebrew it is, *from ancient days*, viz. that Christ descended from the ancient stock of David.

Chr. The Hebrew phrase is, *from the days of the age*, which, in their idiom, signifies *eternity*; as also in the Greek, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, *to ages*, is Englished *for ever and ever* at the end of the Lord's



Prayer ; and you find no fault with it ; for it is the idiom of the language : and it is in the Latin, *in secula seculorum*. The Chaldee Paraphrase has both expressions together : *Whose name was said from eternity, from the days of the age*. The Syriac : *Whose going forth is from the beginning, from the eternal days*. The Arabic : *Whose outgoings in Israel are from everlasting days*. And in the English it is plainly told what is there meant by *ancient days*, or *of old*, as our translation is ; not *yesterday*, or *since David*, but *from everlasting* : *Whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting*.

Here I might retort upon our author for his interpretation of Isa. ix. 6. *Unto us a child is born* ; that, says our author, is spoke of in the present tense ; therefore it could not be Christ, who was not then born. By the same rule, Christ did exist before the prophet Micah wrote ; for he speaks of Christ here in the preterperfect tense, *Whose goings forth have been of old*——.

17. Zech. ii. 8, 9. *Thus saith the Lord of hosts——Ye shall know that the Lord of hosts hath sent me*.

Soc. <sup>b</sup> These words, *Thus saith the Lord of hosts*, are not the words of the Lord of hosts himself, but of the second angel, who, at ver. 3 and 4, spoke to the first angel and to Zechariah.

Chr. Indeed the angel does declare the word of the Lord, and what the Lord spoke, but, therefore, *it was the Lord* who spoke it ; and this is plain from ver. 5. *I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire——flee from the north, saith the Lord* :

<sup>b</sup> Hist. p. 63.



*for I have spread them abroad as the four winds — Thus saith the Lord — I will shake my hand upon them — and ye shall know that the Lord of hosts hath sent me.*

But ver. 10 and 11 makes this plain past contradiction: *Lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord. And many nations shall be joined to the Lord in that day, and shall be my people: and I will dwell in the midst of thee, and thou shalt know that the Lord of hosts hath sent me unto thee.*

This cannot be applied to the angel: it was the angel indeed who told us this, who told us that God said all this; but you cannot apply it to the angel, any more than you can say that all that is spoken in the Prophets was meant of the prophets.

*Soc.* Our author has said nothing of this last text.

18. *Chr.* It was not for his purpose: the next text he quotes out of Zechariah is chap. iii. 2. *The Lord* (Heb. *Jehovah*) *said unto Satan, The Lord* (Heb. *Jehovah*) *rebuke thee.*

*Soc.* Our author says, that the Lord in the first clause is the angel of the Lord, as appears by ver. 1; for there Satan stands before the angel.

*Chr.* How do you prove the consequence? that because Satan stood before the angels, therefore the Lord in the first clause is the angel?

*Soc.* I confess the consequence is not very plain; but he proves it was the angel, because he prays to another person to rebuke.

*Chr.* Do not we say that Christ is another person from the Father? and that he prayed to the Fa-

ther? and we bring this text as a proof; which you say is no proof, because there is one person praying to another: whereas, if it were not so, it could be no proof for us. But your author confesses, that by *the Lord* in the first clause Jehovah is meant, according to the Hebrew, which, he says, does so read it as well as in the second clause.

*Soc.* The name *Jehovah* is given to angels, as Exod. iii. 2, 4, 6. *The angel of the Lord appeared——And when the Lord (Heb. Jehovah) saw that he turned aside——God called to him——and said, I am the God of thy Father——*

*Chr.* We say that Christ oft appeared before his incarnation, as angels do, who put on bodies as men do clothes, without assuming them into their nature: and when he so appeared, he took to himself the style of God, which we deny that ever any angel did. We say that he was one of the three which appeared to Abraham, Gen. xviii. who stayed behind, when the other two went on to Sodom, who is called there by the name of *the Lord*. <sup>d</sup>Constantine built a church at Mamre, where the Lord did thus appear to Abraham, in commemoration of Christ appearing there, who is called *the Lord*, and manifested his divinity there, accompanied with two angels. And we say it was he who appeared like an angel in the bush, and therefore is rightly there called by the name *Jehovah*; and he said, *I am the God*. Thus that text is plain and easy in our sense, but in yours it is intricate and crabbed, and you know not which way to turn it.

19. But I come to the last <sup>e</sup>quotation out of Zech. xii. 10. *They shall look upon me whom they*

<sup>d</sup> Euseb. de Vit. Const. b. III. c. 15. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Hist. p. 65.

*have pierced.* The same thing is said of Christ, Rev. i. 7. and John xix. 37.

*Soc.* As the Jews in the times of the prophets did (as it were) pierce God with their sins of several kinds, so they pierced him again when they put to death the Lord Christ.

*Chr.* Both these texts in St. John refer plainly to Christ, and say that it was he who was pierced; you say it was not he, but God, that was pierced. This is point-blank denying these texts, instead of answering them. Again, consider the manner of their mourning for him, *as one that mourneth for his only son*, as the text speaks; *They shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one is in bitterness for his firstborn.*

This is a sorrow for one that is dead and lost from us. This is literally fulfilled in the death of Christ, and his side pierced with the spear. This sorrow has pity and compassion in it, and trouble and grief for another, which cannot be said of our repenting towards God, wherein we are not grieved for God, but for ourselves. Can we be said to mourn for God as for an only son?

*Soc.* But the words in the prophet are not by St. John interpreted of Christ, but accommodated to Christ and his sufferings.

*Chr.* This is the old distinction of *accommodated*, by which I suppose you mean, that the text was not spoke of Christ, but only that Christ's case was like that case which the text speaks of; and so one of these cases is only compared or accommodated to the other.

*Soc.* Yes, that is the meaning of it.

*Chr.* But what if both these texts mean the same case?

*Soc.* If you can make that appear, you have done the business.

*Chr.* What is the meaning of any saying being fulfilled?

*Soc.* That is, when that is come to pass which was meant or intended in such a saying.

*Chr.* Is the saying itself, and the meaning of that saying, two different things?

*Soc.* No, sure: for what is a saying but the meaning of it? But what do you mean by all these questions?

*Chr.* If this text of Zech. was fulfilled in Christ, then it was meant of Christ; and they are not two cases, whereof one may be accommodated to the other; but all is one and the selfsame case. Fulfilling is a completing of a thing, carrying it to its utmost meaning and perfection. That which is foretold is not fulfilled, if it be not the same thing which was foretold: one thing is not completed by the fulfilling of another thing.

*Soc.* This is self-evident. What do you infer?

*Chr.* St. John says the scripture in Zech. was fulfilled in the passion of Christ; therefore it is more than accommodated, compared, or made like to it: the prophet and evangelist both spoke of the same thing.

John xix.  
36.

*These things were done*, says St. John, *that the scripture might be fulfilled—They shall look on him whom they pierced.* And you having said in your first answer to this text that the *me* in Zech. (*they shall look upon me*) was meant of God, it



follows, from St. John's interpreting this as fulfilled (and not only accommodated) in Christ, that Christ was that *me* which is in Zech., and consequently is God. Pray read ver. 36 of the nineteenth chapter of St. John, *These things were done* (viz. piercing Christ with the spear, and not breaking of his legs, as was done to the others who were crucified with him) *that the scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken. And again another scripture says, They shall look on him whom they pierced.* Here are two prophecies, quoted by the apostle, of this piercing of Christ. One of them, I believe, this author will not say was only accommodated to Christ, viz. the not breaking of his legs; unless he thinks they could break God's legs; and then you may contrive an accommodated sense even in this too: for grieving of God may be called breaking of his bones, as well as piercing him: and you must either accommodate both or none of these texts; the apostle puts them together, and accommodates them both alike: and therefore Zech. xii. 10. must belong as much to Christ as Exod. xii. 46. Numb. ix. 12. or Psal. xxxiv. 20; and it was understood all along in this sense, even before the council of Nice.

St. Barnabas, in his <sup>e</sup> Cath. Epist. c. 7. p. 43, speaking of Christ's coming to judgment, says, that when the Jews shall see him, they will say, "Is not this he whom we heretofore did crucify?"

Now though St. Barnabas does not here quote this text of Zech. xii. 10, yet it is plain that he refers to it; and means, the *looking upon him whom they pierced* to be understood of Christ.

<sup>e</sup> Καὶ ἐροῦσιν, οὐχ αὗτός ἐστιν ὃν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν;

Irenæus quotes this same text of Zech. xii. 10. as spoke of Christ, (*advers. Hæres. lib. IV. c. 66.*) and Cyprian (*advers. Jud. lib. II. c. 20.*) Tertullian, (*advers. Jud. c. 14. de Resurrect. Carnis, c. 22. and advers. Marcion. lib. III. c. 7.*) and generally all the fathers.

*Soc.* The more learned and judicious Trinitarians confess that the <sup>f</sup>Trinity, and divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, are not indeed taught in the scriptures of the Old Testament, but are a revelation made to us in the New: so saith Tertullian, *advers. Prax. c. 3.*

*Chr.* Tertullian says not a word like it in that place. It is but seldom this historian quotes book or chapter of any author: and you may see here a good reason for it. But it was an unlucky or rather happy *erratum* of the author or printer (if you make the right use of it) to lead the reader to this place of Tertullian; for he discourses there of the Trinity so very learnedly as might have instructed your author, and cured him of his mistakes about the Trinity, if he had minded it.

Testimony  
of Tertul-  
lian that  
the Trinity  
is collected  
out of the  
Unity.

Tertullian is there disputing against these heretics who think that the <sup>g</sup>number and disposition “ of the Trinity is a division of its Unity; when “ the Unity, deriving the Trinity out of itself, is “ not destroyed by it, but is supported. Therefore

<sup>f</sup> Hist. p. 67.

<sup>g</sup> Numerum et dispositionem Trinitatis, divisionem præsumunt Unitatis; quando Unitas ex ipsamet derivans Trinitatem, non destruat ab illa, sed administretur. Itaque duos et tres jam jactant a nobis prædicari, se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt. Quasi non et Unitas irrationabiliter collecta, hæresin faciat; et Trinitas, rationaliter expensa, veritatem constituat.

“ they brag that we preach two or three, but that  
“ they worship one God. As if the Unity, being  
“ unreasonably collected, did not make heresy ; and  
“ the Trinity, being rationally weighed, did not  
“ establish the truth.”

These are the words of Tertullian, and I would desire you to consider two things in them. First, that he says the Unity does deduce the Trinity out of itself. This shews the Trinity to be even natural to the Unity ; and, therefore, that there could not be an Unity unless there were a Trinity. And to explain this, he says after, that the Unity is to be collected ; *Unitas collecta*. This is a great confirmation to what we have already discoursed of the natural unity of the persons of God : that in every unity there must be several things to be united : thus the unity of a body is an union of parts ; the union of a soul is the union of faculties ; and the union of God is the union of persons. The very word *union* implies diversity ; for a thing cannot be united to itself : even in self-reflection the same soul must be considered as agent and patient, as when I love myself : and what is but a shadow, a diversity of faculties in man, (without which there could be no self-reflection,) must be personal in God, (without which God could not know or love himself, and so could not be God :) therefore, as Tertullian says, the Unity not being reasonably collected, makes an heresy in the Christian faith. Indeed your Unity is not collected at all, or put together ; it is made up of nothing, or (which is the same) it is the union of a thing with itself, a Unity without any union, or an union where nothing is united. On the contrary, our doctrine of the Tri-



nity, being rationally weighed and considered, does establish the truth, that is, gives the only true and rational account of the Unity of God : and it will follow from hence, that we deserve the name of *Unitarians* much more truly than you do. Your Unity is a heresy, according to Tertullian, ours is the truth.

*Soc.* I fancy our author must have misquoted that place of Tertullian.

*Chr.* Yet it has not been wholly improper to our subject, as you have seen.

*Soc.* I am sure that is not what he intended. But what say you to two or three other authors he quotes in the same place ?

*Chr.* I have them not at hand ; and I think it not worth the while to search for them ; because if Tertullian and twenty others said what he alleges, it would make nothing for his cause. And, secondly, you may reasonably suppose that he deals with the others as he has done with Tertullian in this quotation.

*Soc.* Why do you say it would make nothing for his cause, if Tertullian or others said what he alleges ?

An answer  
to the ob-  
jection why  
the Trinity  
is not more  
clearly re-  
vealed in  
the Old  
Testament.

*Chr.* Because I will allow, in one sense, that the Trinity and divinity of Christ are not taught in the Old Testament ; that is, so clearly, as that, if the New Testament had not applied to Christ the texts which the Old Testament makes incommunicable to any but to God, we had not of our own heads thought them communicable to Christ. But it is a demonstration that the fathers did think the Trinity and divinity of Christ to be contained in the Old Testament ; because one of their arguments for



the divinity of Christ is by comparing the prophecies of him in the Old Testament with the completion of them in the New: and from the New Testament applying to him the incommunicable attributes of God, which the Old Testament did appropriate to Christ. And you have seen the fathers, even before Nice, insist all along upon the Old Testament proofs, both for the Trinity and divinity of Christ: so that this is a false and malicious aspersion your author casts upon them, where he weakly insinuates that they give up the Old Testament phrases, because these of the gospel are more full; or even that the Old Testament proofs had not been clearly understood but for the New, which, as I said, if granted, makes nothing at all to his cause: but he has not proved even that; that he may make out his character, to have proved no one thing that he has attempted.

*Soc.* But he asks, p. 68, if the Trinity were taught in the Old Testament, how came the Jewish church in all ages to be so wholly ignorant of it, that (as all confess) they had not the least suspicion that God is more than one person? And if in this they had erred, 'tis not to be doubted our Saviour would have reproved their heresy, and carefully set them right, as he did in the matter of the resurrection.

*Chr.* His confident asserting is the best part of his arguments. He says that, "as all confess," the Jews had not the least suspicion of the Trinity: the contrary to which you have plainly seen.

*Soc.* But then why did not Christ explain the Trinity more fully to them, and set them right in this, as well as in the resurrection?

*Chr.* He did so, as is evident from the clear revelation of the Trinity in the New Testament; but they remained ignorant in this, as in other things which were as clearly revealed; as in the true office of the Messiah, his passion, resurrection, &c. Luke xviii. 31—35. Nay, the very apostles remained all Christ's lifetime ignorant of the true meaning of his coming into the world, of his death, resurrection, &c. Acts i. 6. notwithstanding all the clear revelations he made to them of it before his death.

*Soc.* The chief of your proofs for the Trinity are in the New Testament; therefore in our next discourse let us consider these, at least the principal of them.

THE  
THIRD DIALOGUE.

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*Texts out of the New Testament.*

*Christian.* I AM now come to my proofs out of the New Testament: and I desire you to consider,

1. Matt. xii. 31. *Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven.*

*Socinian.* The Holy Ghost is not, in this text, a person, or a God, but merely the power of God<sup>a</sup>.

*Chr.* Not in this text; but in other texts it must be something distinct from God; which you assert, p. 17. and p. 125. upon 2 Cor. xiii. 14. and in several other places: so that you alter the notion of the Holy Ghost according to the texts; which is wisely done; for every text will not fit your way.

*Soc.* But now we must take it only for the power of God, which is the same with God; as 'tis said of Moses, *they provoked his spirit*: the undoubted Ps. cvi. 33. meaning is, they provoked *him*. So also, *Grieve* Eph. iv. 30. *not the holy Spirit of God* is an Hebraism for *grieve not God*, as our author explains it, p. 52. upon Psalm cxxxix. 7.

*Chr.* Then this is the meaning you have put upon this text; that *sins against God are to be forgiven, but sins against his Spirit are not to be forgiven*. Now apply this to the parallel you have

<sup>a</sup> Brief Hist. p. 75.

brought, and say, that *a sin against Moses is to be forgiven, but against the spirit of Moses is not to be forgiven*: or, which is the same, that *a sin against Moses is to be forgiven, but a sin against Moses is not to be forgiven*: for you know Moses and his spirit are the same.

*Soc.* You have proposed the difficulty, pray answer it.

*Chr.* The spirit of Moses is not a person, viz. it is not subsisting by itself: therefore we cannot predicate or affirm any thing of it otherwise than of Moses; and it would be the same absurdity to say any thing of the Spirit of God otherwise than of God, if the Spirit were not a person, that is, subsisting by itself.

*Soc.* I will consider of this: go to another text.

2. *Chr.* Matt. xxviii. 19. *Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

*Soc.* Baptizing unto such a one is sometimes meant of baptizing in his *name*<sup>b</sup>, as Rom. vi. 3. *As many of you as have been baptized into Jesus Christ*—by which is meant, being baptized *in his name*. And we find it said, *that our fathers were baptized unto Moses*, 1 Cor. x. 2, *and unto John's baptism*, Acts xix. 3; and therefore we may suppose they were baptized *in their names*. And so being baptized *in the name* of such a one is not a proof that he is God.

*Chr.* This is Mr. Biddle's exposition of this text, reprinted 1691. in that volume of Socinian tracts entitled, *The Faith of One God, &c.* p. 8. And not to insist upon the difference of being baptized *unto*

<sup>b</sup> Brief Hist. p. 77.



and *into* such a one, which is considerable, I answer, that being baptized *in the name* of such a one does include being baptized *unto him*: but not on the contrary; for being baptized *unto such a one* does not include being baptized *in his name*. *Unto such a one* may mean no more than being baptized by his ministry: but being baptized *in one's name* is owning him the author of my religion; and, as such, a dedicating and devoting myself to him; which is not lawful to do to any creature, because it is the highest sort of worship that can be. *I* 1 Cor. i. 14, 15. *thank God I baptized none of you*, says St. Paul, *but Crispus and Gaius; lest any should say that I had baptized in my own name*. And again he argues with them: *Is Christ divided? was Paul* Ver. 13. *crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?* These are things which no apostle must arrogate to himself; and there is not an instance in all the scripture of any that were baptized *in the name* of any creature; for that would be to be baptized into the faith and worship of creatures, which is idolatry: and asserted, *in terminis*, in Biddle's Confession of Faith, printed in the abovesaid volume of Socinian tracts, p. 4, where, artic. 2. and p. 8. artic. 3, he asserts Christ to have “no other than “an human nature, and yet in this very nature to “be not only a person—but also our Lord, yea, “our God—and the object of our faith and worship;” which is as gross idolatry as ever was owned by the heathen, and a greater contradiction than any that is charged upon the doctrine of the holy Trinity. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, in his *Expositio Fidei*, p. 100, says, that from the words of this text, *non potest contradici*—there can be

no dispute but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost have communion and unity; according to which, they are not three divinities, nor three dominations, nor three holies; but their three persons remaining, the union of all the three is most firmly to be confessed: as the Father sends the Son, and the Son sends the Holy Ghost; but one person never sends itself, for none will say that the Father is incarnate, &c. Our author's interpretation of this text is the same which Cyprian so severely reprehends in Lucian, who, when our Lord commanded all nations to be baptized *in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, and remission of sins to be given in baptism, he, being ignorant of the command and the law, commands peace to be given, and sins to be remitted, in the name of Paul—wherein he did not consider at all that it is not the martyrs who made the gospel, but they are made martyrs by the gospel. Cyprian, Epist. 18. p. 53. and Epist. 73. *Jubaiano*, p. 200. He says this form of baptism *in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, insinuat Trinitatem, cujus sacramento gentes baptizantur*; “it does insinuate the Trinity into “the sacrament of which the nations are baptized.” And afterward in the same Epist. p. 206. he says that Christ commands all nations to be baptized *in plena et adunata Trinitate*, “in the full and united “Trinity.”

*Soc.* The Def. of the Hist. c. 7. p. 38, says, that “the Jews were baptized in the name of Moses, “and that it is plain the apostle tells the Corinthians, *that as they were baptized in the name of Jesus*—so the fathers had been baptized in the “name of Moses.”

*Chr.* If we had said any thing like this, I should have expected some of his usual compliments, impudent, want of common sense, &c. to bring no argument, but to cry magisterially “it is plain,” when it is plainly otherwise: however, we will give him to the next edition to find the place where St. Paul tells the Corinthians that the Fathers were baptized *in the name of Moses*.

*Soc.* But he finds some places of scripture where creatures are joined with God, as Exod. xiv. 31. *The people feared the Lord—and believed the Lord and his servant Moses.* 1 Tim. v. 21. *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things, &c.*

*Chr.* What does he make of this?

*Soc.* If Moses and angels be joined with God in acts of faith and obtestation, &c. why not the Son and Spirit in baptism, though neither of them is God himself?

*Chr.* Sure he did not ask this question to be informed; for who is it does not see the difference? To be baptized *in the name* of a person is giving up my name to him, dedicating myself to him, making myself his, giving him the title to me, to dispose of me at his pleasure: it is a form of initiating me into his religion, owning him as the father and author of the religion I profess. And this it is not lawful to do to any creature: there is none whom we must thus call *our father* upon earth, whom we must join with God in this solemn act of dedicating ourselves unto God; for we are wholly God's, and he must have no sharer in the possession of us: in this we must join none with him. But



there are many things wherein it is no harm to join creatures with God ; as in acts of obtestation, as your author calls it, invoking God and man to witness ; to believe what God says, and what man says, &c. This is so obvious, I will insist no more upon it.

*Soc.* My author quotes 1 Cor. i. 14, 15 ; *I thank God*, says St. Paul, *I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius ; lest any should say that I baptized in my own name.* He plainly insinuates, says my author, that “ a mere man may baptize in *his own name.*”

*Chr.* This is such an insinuation as, I believe, none but your author could see : if any man might do it, I know none had better pretence than St. Paul : but how his renouncing it should be a plain insinuation that he might do it, is left to the author to explain ; till when, I must still believe, and most men in the world with me, that these words of St. Paul rather imply that he had not power to baptize *in his own name* ; and if not he, then, I think, nobody else had that power.

*Soc.* My author still insists that to be baptized *unto Moses* is the same with being baptized *in the name of Moses*, because being baptized *unto Christ* and *in the name of Christ* are the same.

*Chr.* That has been answered already, viz. the greater (which is being baptized *in the name of a person*) includes the lesser, (which is being baptized *unto one*, which may mean no more than by his ministry :) but, on the contrary, the lesser cannot include the greater. Therefore, though being baptized *unto Christ* and *in the name of Christ* mean the same thing, because the greater includes the



lesser; yet being baptized *unto Moses* and *in the name of Moses* are not the same, because the lesser does not include the greater.

*Soc.* He still insists that if to be baptized *into Christ's baptism* is all one with being baptized *in the name of Christ*, then he says, that to be baptized *into John's baptism* must also signify to be baptized *in the name of John*; and that whoever professed in his baptism to follow the doctrine which John taught, might be said to be baptized *in the name of John*.

*Chr.* To be baptized *into Christ's baptism* is all one with being baptized *in the name of Christ*, because the form of his baptism was in his own name, together with that of the Father and the Holy Ghost; but to be baptized *into John's baptism* was not to be baptized *in the name of John*, unless John did baptize in his own name; which it is evident he did not; for his baptism had relation and referred to Christ, who was to come after him: as it is said, Acts xix. 4, *John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe in him who should come after him, that is, in Christ Jesus.*

But what does he say to the objection of being baptized into the name of an inspiration, which is not a person?

*Soc.* He says (ending of p. 39. and beginning of p. 40.) that he sees no absurdity in being baptized into the profession of a doctrine which came originally from God the Father, is revealed by his Son, and is confirmed by the power or Spirit of God.

*Chr.* That is to say, he is resolved not to answer,

ask him as often as you will: for the question is not of being baptized into the profession of a doctrine, for all are obliged by their baptism to profess the doctrine of that person in whose name they are baptized. Thus Christians are obliged by their baptism to profess the doctrine taught by Christ; but they are not baptized in the name of that doctrine, or of any article of it; that would be nonsense; for every baptism is in the name of some person. As no man is enlisted in the name of a cause, but in the name of some person for whose cause he fights; and the cause is proclaimed in the name of the person. Thus we read, Luke xxiv. 47, *that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in Christ's name.* This was never said of any prophet, apostle, or other minister of the gospel; that is more than belongs to the office of a bare servant, minister, or herald: they must not proclaim in their own names.

The like reason will explain Luke xvii. 5. *The apostles said unto the Lord, Increase our faith:* which your author would have to mean no more than to pray for them. But he will not find in scripture an example of requesting any man's prayers in such a form, as to desire them to bestow upon us any spiritual grace.

3. The next text we should consider is John i. 1. *In the beginning was the Word, &c.*; of which we have before discoursed at large: I only here mark it in its order; and so go to the next.

4. John ii. 19, 21. *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up—He spake of the temple of his body.*

*Soc.* <sup>c</sup> Christ raised his body by a power communicated to him by the Father.

*Chr.* But had he that power when he was dead? How can a dead man act? Which way shall he be set about the raising of himself?

*Soc.* Indeed I think we must have him alive before he can raise himself; let us go on to ver. 25.

5. *Chr.* We will let that alone till we come to Rom. ii. 16; for the same answer will serve both. But now to prove that Christ had a being before he was born of the Virgin<sup>d</sup>, read John iii. 13. *No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man that is in heaven.*

*Soc.* <sup>e</sup> *He that came down from heaven*; that is, says my author, he that is sent to you as the messenger of heaven, or of God: and *even the Son of man that is in heaven*; that is, whose mediation or conversation is in heaven. But our author quits this answer, and says that the Socinians do (generally) understand this text literally, and say that 'tis here intimated, that before our Lord entered upon his office of Messiah he was taken up to heaven, to be instructed in the mind and will of God, (as Moses was into the mount, Exod. xxiv. 1, 2, 12.) and from thence descended to execute this office, and declare the said will of God. The same thing, they say, is also hinted, John vi. 38, 46, 51, 62. viii. 40.

*Chr.* Does any of these places say that Christ was taken up to heaven?

*Soc.* No; but that he came down from heaven, and was in heaven.

*Chr.* Will this prove that he was taken up to be

<sup>c</sup> Hist. p. 89.

<sup>d</sup> P. 90.

<sup>e</sup> P. 91.



instructed after his incarnation? We say he was there before, and came down: you, without any authority in the world, will have this to be a taking of him up after his birth, of which there is not the least hint in all the Bible, no, nor any where else. Your author does not so much as pretend to any sort of proof; so that we must take it for a revelation of his own; that is, for an absolute sign of a baffled cause, and the utmost obstinacy to resist all conviction. If he had found us build any thing upon such a bottom as this, I am sure he would persecute us sufficiently: they may as well take upon them to invent a new Bible, as invent stories on purpose to ground upon them strange interpretations of the texts of the Bible.

But let me ask you, upon his own principles, what need was there for Christ's being taken up to heaven, to be instructed in the will of God? He confesses that the Word of God, which is his whole wisdom and power, abode on Christ, and inspired him, even <sup>f</sup>*without measure*, so as that it was even incarnate and made flesh in him, and spoken of as one person with him, and he with him. And was not this sufficient to shew him the will of God? What could heaven add to this? he could have but the same in heaven. But if Christ's ascension into heaven may be solved by my fancying that he might be taken up at this or that time, and let down again, I may deny what all Christians mean by his ascension; and every other article of the Creed by the same liberty: but let us go on.

6. How do you answer John viii. 58. <sup>g</sup>*Before Abraham was, I am?*

<sup>f</sup> Hist. p. 89.

<sup>g</sup> P. 94.



*Soc.* That is, before Abraham was, it was decreed that Christ should come.

*Chr.* Why was not that expressed in the text? You will grant the words will not bear it. Never man expressed himself at this rate: and the scripture is to be understood, like other writings, by the common use of words; else it was not meant to be understood.

*Soc.* He produces other texts to countenance his interpretation of this; 1 Pet. i. 20, *Who was fore-ordained from the foundation of the world.*

*Chr.* That is clearly expressed, that he was fore-ordained.

*Soc.* Rev. xiii. 8, *The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.*

*Chr.* These are the words of the Revelation, which speaks in the highest strain of prophecy, and that, as we have observed, speaks of things to come as present or past.

And this could not be misunderstood; for none ever said that Christ was slain before the time that he was slain: and therefore this could not be meant but only of the decree, or in relation to God, to whom all things are present, in which respect the Lamb was slain from all eternity.

And besides you cannot reconcile this answer of Christ's to common truth, as you explain it.

The question was, whether Jesus or Abraham were first. *The Jews said unto him, Thou art not fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?*

Jesus answered, that he was before Abraham: if he meant in decree only, it was no answer to their question; for so I am before Abraham; that is, before Abraham was born, it was decreed that I should

be: and you would not make our Saviour answer sophistically.

Iren. *advers. Hæc.* l. IV. c. 27. p. 346, understands this text [*before Abraham was, I am*] of Christ's really existing before Abraham.

But the next place, why should the Jews go to stone him for this answer? there was no sort of difficulty in it, as you explain it.

*Soc.* The Jews misunderstood it.

*Chr.* Then you must suppose Christ spoke with a mental reservation, on purpose that they might mistake.

*Soc.* Yes, as Luke viii. 10: he spake in parables, *that seeing they might not see, &c.*

*Chr.* This is not to be understood as if Christ spoke in parables on purpose to hinder them from believing; on the contrary, parables do naturally prompt men to inquire and learn the meaning of them, and therefore are the most effectual method of instructing; that is, to men apt and forward to learn. But otherwise they are indeed insipid, and very ineffectual: but that is from the fault of the hearer, who will not be at pains to inquire. Therefore our Saviour so often repeats, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear: and, Take heed how ye hear: for he that hath, to him shall be given; and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath.* That is, a docible temper will learn still more; on the contrary, men who are careless and stupid, grow backward, and lose what reason they had.

And what our Saviour says of *seeing they might not see, &c.* it was only as applying to them the prophecy which was of their hardened and indocible

temper, which is evident from the parallel place, Matt. xiii. 14; *In them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith, By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive: for this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes are closed; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.*

You will not say that it was the prophecy which hardened these men. But God foresaw their hardness, and foretold it by the prophet. St. Matthew, ch. i. 22, speaking of the birth of Christ, says, *All this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Behold a virgin shall be with child, &c.* Do you think that the end of Christ's coming into the world was only that he might not make Isaiah a liar, who wrote this prophecy? or that this prophecy was the cause of Christ's birth, so that it had not otherwise come to pass if this prophecy had not been made? There is the same reason for the same manner of expression in the same evangelist, ch. xiii. 14, and quoting another prophecy of the same prophet Isaiah.

But how different a case is this from our Saviour's answering a plain and direct question of the Jews! Are you older than such a man, or not? To make him deceive them on purpose is a hard interpretation; and when he saw them in an error, and brought into it by his improper and unknown way of speaking, that he should leave them in that error into which he had visibly led them, and not vouchsafe one word to undeceive them, not only at that



time, but never after in his whole life: on the contrary, that all he said should be constantly in this strain, speaking such strange things of himself, and in words applicable to no other person in the world: I say, this would give him more the character of an impostor and a deceiver, as they called him, than of a teacher come from God to tell us the truth.

7. John x. 30, Christ says, *I and the Father are one.*

*Soc.* Not one God, but as friends are said to be one<sup>h</sup>.

*Chr.* Tertullian (*de Oratione*, c. 2. p. 130.) proves that we pray to the Son when we pray to the Father, because Christ says, *I and the Father are one. In Patre Filius invocatur; Ego enim, inquit, et Pater unum sumus.* And, (*advers. Prax.* c. 8. p. 504.) *Sermo in Patre semper*—"The Word," says he, "was always in the Father;" as Christ says, *I am in the Father*, and always with God; as it is written, *And the Word was with God*: and never separated from the Father, or other from the Father, because *I and the Father are one.* (*Ibid.* c. 22. p. 513.) And by this saying he shews them to be two, *quos æquat et jungit*, "whom he joins and "makes equal." But all this is to be understood, *Ut duo tamen crederentur in una virtute*: "That "they be believed to be two in one and the same "power: because otherwise the Son cannot be believed, unless two be believed." These are the words of Tertullian.

St. Cyprian (*de Unit. Eccl.* p. 109.) quotes this text as proving the natural union of the Father and the Son: for he joins it in the same proof with

<sup>h</sup> Hist. p. 95.



1 John v. 7, which is the most express for proving the Unity of the Trinity: *Dicit Dominus, Ego et Pater unum sumus, et iterum, de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, Et hi tres unum sunt.* “The Lord said, *I and the Father are one*; and “again, it is written of the Father, Son, and Holy “Ghost, *And these three are one.*”

8. The next text I offer you is John x. 33, *Thou being a man makest thyself God.* What says your author to this?

Soc. He says, they lied.

Chr. That is not the question. But what notion had the Jews of that term, *the Son of God*? They knew that God had many sons by adoption, and that kings were called gods in their law, which you instance, p. 76, in answer to Matt. xxvi. 63, *Tell us whether thou be the Christ the Son of God.* But a natural son partakes of the true nature of his father; in which sense to call any the Son of God, is to call him true and real God; as the Jews here, you see, understood it: and in this sense it is that Christ is called *the first begotten*. The production of God's nature is essential to him; and therefore the first production of God, before any of his outward acts of creation; and in this sense Christ is God's *only begotten*. These are his epithets in holy scripture. Now the question is, whether the Jews understood him in this sense, or only in the common sense of Christ's being a God, or a son of God, as kings or judges are?

You remember what we have said of gods by nature and gods by office; and that there was a necessity that our Saviour must use the terms of *the Logos*, or *the Word*, and likewise of *the Son of*

*God*, and all other terms, in the same sense in which they understood them to whom he spoke; else he had not spoke in sincerity and truth.

*Soc.* I remember this very well: and it is necessary that he should use these terms in the same sense the Jews did: therefore I desire you to prove that the Jews had any notion at all of a natural Son of God, or a Son of God which is God: for our author thinks that they had not the least suspicion of any such thing, as I quoted him to you before, p. 68.

*Chr.* And I have quoted to you before the Jews' notion of the Trinity, and likewise of the Messias, Schechina, which they distinguished from the Holy Spirit. If they had no such notion, why then did they charge Christ with blasphemy for saying he was the Son of God, and that this did make him God?

*Soc.* I cannot see a good reason for it: the expression is very strange.

*Chr.* But they explain their own meaning past dispute. *Thou being a man*, say they, *makest thyself God*. They could not say this, if they had meant by God only a man. *And they sought to kill him, because he said that God was his Father, making himself equal to God*. Being God's natural Son does indeed make him equal to God, as every son is equal to his father in nature; and therefore they must mean it in this sense, for otherwise to be God's adopted son, or only upon the account of creation, is so far from making us equal to God, that, on the contrary, it demonstrates that we are not equal to him. And in this sense it is not only no fault, but it is our duty to call him *our Father*;

for so he is. And therefore it is impossible that the Jews should seek to kill him, or be angry with him for this, which themselves did every day; much less to infer from hence that he *made himself equal to God*.

*Soc.* But our author says<sup>i</sup>, that “had our Lord “been more than the Son of God, he would have “owned his dignity, when they charged him with “blasphemy for saying those things from which it “might (by their strained consequences) be inferred “that he made himself a God.”

*Chr.* He did own his dignity plainly, because he knew what they meant by *the Son of God*. But, on the other hand, if he had not been such a Son of God as they meant, which was, to be equal to God, or to be God, without doubt he would have renounced the blasphemy with the utmost abhorrence and detestation, (as St. Paul and Barnabas did when the people took them for gods, Acts xiv. 14.) and never suffered the Jews to have gone away in so mortal an error and just prejudice to him and his doctrine; especially not to lose his life for it; for when the high priest rent his clothes, and the sanhedrim condemned him to death for the blasphemy of calling himself the Son of God, he should stand mute, (which was owning of the fact,) and refuse to save his life, (which was being accessary to his own death,) or to undeceive these so fatally mistaken in such a blasphemous and mortal error, when he might have done it so easily as naming this distinction of his not being the natural, (which only in their sense was blasphemous,) but a created son of

<sup>i</sup> Hist. p. 96.



God, with which none could find any fault, much less charge it with blasphemy. But I go on.

9. John xiv. 1, *Ye believe in God, believe also in me.*

*Soc.* Our Lord has himself interpreted this, John xii. 44, *He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me<sup>k</sup>.*

*Chr.* That is, they are both one. And you will not find any prophet, or apostle, no, nor angel, compare himself thus with God; or that durst say, *Honour me as you honour God*; and, *Ye believe in God, believe also in me.*

*Soc.* That is a different style, I must confess, from what is used of angels or of men.

10. *Chr.* John xiv. 9. *He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.*

*Soc.* It is also said of the disciples, Luke x. 16, *He that heareth you heareth me—and he that despiseth you despiseth me<sup>l</sup>.*

*Chr.* So he that despiseth, or will not hearken to an herald, despiseth the king that sent him. But you will not say that he who seeth the herald seeth the king.

*Soc.* That indeed bears a different meaning, especially in one who pretends to be the king himself, and is accused for so doing.

11. *Chr.* John xiv. 14, *If ye ask any thing in my name, I will do it.*

*Soc.* That is, by intercession with the Father, as it is said, Heb. vii. 25, *He is able to save them—that come to God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them<sup>m</sup>.*

*Chr.* The apostle is there describing his priestly

<sup>k</sup> Hist. p. 97.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> P. 98.



office, (which was intercession for the people,) and comparing it with that of Aaron: and this is, as he is man. But *I will do what you ask*, is of another strain, never spoke by a bare intercessor; it arrogates to myself to grant your petition; and therefore no man or angel ever spoke after this manner.

12. John xvi. 14, *He* [the Holy Ghost] *shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you*. Here the Spirit is plainly spoken of as a Person. This we have discoursed already.

But what does he say to these words, that *the Holy Ghost shall receive of Christ's*?

*Soc.* That is, “He shall receive of God the remainder of Christ’s doctrine, and teach it to the “apostles<sup>n</sup>.”

*Chr.* This is beyond a strained interpretation; it is adding to the text; and your author might have made it signify what he pleased. But our Saviour gives another reason why the Holy Ghost did receive of his: because, says he in the next words, *All things that the Father hath are mine: therefore said I, that he shall receive of mine*. And, ver. 7, he attributes to himself the sending of the Holy Ghost; *I will send him unto you*.

Will you now give unto a creature the power of sending the Holy Spirit, which, you say, “is not “any thing different from God, but is God?” A creature to send God, and to give him something of a creature’s to carry! a creature to call God his messenger, and to say, *He shall receive of mine, and give to you!* and for a creature to say that *all things that are God’s are his!* these things are unintelligible, irreconcilable upon your scheme; but in the

<sup>n</sup> Hist. p. 101.

doctrine of the Trinity of Persons in the unity of nature they are obvious and easy; for there is a natural order and superiority of the Persons in an equality of nature, which we see even among men, as has been explained.

Object. of  
the Holy  
Ghost ap-  
pearing in  
the shape  
of a dove.

*Soc.* My author objects that the Holy Ghost appeared in the form of a dove on Christ, and of cloven tongues on the apostles<sup>o</sup>; and he asks what sense the Trinitarians can make of these things? They say, the Spirit is a Person, and God: did God receive and assume the shape of a dove, that is, of a brute? what hinders but that they may believe all the transformations in the Metamorphoses of Ovid?

*Chr.* He rests mightily assured in this objection, and expresses it very modestly: but let us see what is in it.

First, For the Holy Ghost appearing in the form of cloven tongues, he himself confesses, that this was to express the gift then bestowed, which may be the gift of tongues; and, consequently, it was not to express the form or shape of the Giver: so this part of the objection is over.

He says, that for the like reason the Holy Ghost appeared in the shape of a dove at our Saviour's baptism, to signify the mild and peaceable spirit of Christ.

If so, then this apparition too was as an emblem of the gift, and not of the Giver; so that he has answered himself.

But in the next place, it does not appear that there was any shape of a dove at our Saviour's baptism; though it is, I think, a vulgar error: for which reason I will speak a little of it here.

There was a bodily shape appeared, else the people could not have seen it; but what was this shape or appearance? It was a fire of glory that descended from heaven, and lighted upon the head of our Saviour. But how did it light? was it like a flash of lightning, quick and transient? No; for then, in so great a multitude, the people could not have discerned for what particular person it was meant. Did it come down swift, as a bird of prey stoops to its game, like an arrow out of a bow? No; it descended leisurely and hovering, as a dove does when it lights upon the ground, that the people might take the more notice, and to express the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit; and it not only lighted upon the head of our Saviour, but it abode and remained upon him; as it is said, John i. 32, 33.

Now that the expression in the text, *like a dove*, does refer to this manner of the descent of that glory upon our blessed Saviour, and not to the shape of it, appears from the grammatical construction of the words in the text, which is better distinguished in the Greek and Latin, than in the English, where the cases of nouns are expressed by particles, and not by their termination. Now if these words, *like a dove*, had referred to the shape, then the word *dove* must have been in the genitive case, the shape *of* a dove. But it is not so, either in the Greek or Latin. It is said in the Greek, that the Holy Ghost descended σωματικῶς εἶδεν, in a “bodily appearance,” ὥσπερ (or ὥς as the Cambridge copy of Beza reads it) περιστερὰν, but if it had referred to the shape, it must have been ὥσπερ περιστερᾶς, *of a dove*. Thus the Latin, *Descendit corporali specie, sicut columba*; that is, *sicut columba descendit*, “as a



“dove descends.” It can bear no other construction: but, if it had referred to the shape, it must have been, *Descendit corporali specie, sicut columbæ*; “the shape of a dove:” which is not in our English: it is not said in our English, *the shape of a dove*; but that the *Holy Ghost descended* (in a bodily shape) *like a dove*, that is, as a dove descends. If it had referred to the shape, it should have said, *in a bodily shape, as of a dove*: or, *like as of a dove*.

Besides, if that glory which appeared had been no bigger than a dove, (which is not to be imagined, when it is said the heaven was opened: and the people had not taken so much notice, if the appearance had been no bigger than a dove, it might have escaped the sight of many; but suppose it,) how should they know it to be a dove, more than any other bird or thing of the like bigness? especially considering that it uttered no voice, for it is expressly said that the voice came from heaven; then not from that which abode or remained upon our Saviour.

I have said thus much of it, because of the too common practice of painting the Holy Ghost like a dove; which gives countenance to the usage in the church of Rome of painting God the Father like an old man, from his being called the *Ancient of days*, and represented to Daniel in a dream (so it is expressly said, Dan. vii. 1.) *as sitting upon a throne, &c.*

But in that glorious appearance at Horeb (which was more than a dream) it is particularly cautioned, Deut. iv. 12, *The Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire, ye heard the voice of the words,*



but saw no similitude; that is, of God who spoke, for they saw many other similitudes, as fire, smoke, &c. But they were to make no resemblance of God from any thing that they saw. And the fowls of the air are particularly named, ver. 17.

But how do you Socinians get over this text; you, who by the Holy Ghost mean only an inspiration, or an attribute of God, as his wisdom or power? Now for an inspiration, or a quality, or attribute, to take a bodily shape, has an absurdity in it beyond any you can charge upon our interpretation of this text.

Soc. Our author gives an answer to the text before quoted, John xvi. 15, *All things that the Father hath are mine*; he says<sup>p</sup>, St. Paul said as much of every Christian, 1 Cor. iii. 21, 22, *All things are yours—things present, things to come are yours*.

Chr. *All things* is often used to express all the things which we are then speaking of: and what these things were, and what he meant by *all things* in this text, St. Paul sufficiently declares, while he repeats that expression in the same breath, *Whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come, all are yours*; that is, all these things are intended for your benefit: not only the present ministration of the gospel in the hands of Paul, or Apollos, or other men; and the grace which God bestows upon them in this life; but even heaven hereafter will be the portion of saints; but all these things are not *all things that the Father hath*: this which St. Paul speaks to Christians has no proportion to what Christ says of himself.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. p. 103.

*Soc.* He gives a second answer: he says that saying of Christ is thus to be rendered: "*All things* relating to the doctrine and discipline of the Christian church, which the Father hath in his mind and design, are mine."

*Chr.* Bless me! that men should pretend to reason, and to appeal to scripture, and yet take upon them, not only to interpret them to all the perverseness that words are capable of, but where that will not do, to add what they please to the text, and turn it to whatever they have a mind to! I'll undertake, give me this latitude, and you shall not prove from scripture that there is a God, or a world, or ever such a man as Christ. There is an ingenious book written, exposing their method of argument, by which the author proves from scripture, after their manner of interpretation, that women have no souls; and answers all texts against it in the Socinian way; and as plausibly as they oppose these texts which prove the Trinity, or the incarnation and satisfaction of Christ. And another maintains the eternity of the world, and answers the first of Genesis as the Socinians do, Col. i. 16, viz. that by creating was only meant modelling, or new ordering; which you will see more of when we come to that text. Others set up Præ-Adamites, without any stop from the story of Genesis: and indeed there is no stop to invention, at this rate, nor any certainty in words: no temporal law can guard itself without this maxim, that *ubi lex non distinguit ibi non est distinguendum*; "you must not distinguish but where the law does distinguish;" for that is to set yourself above all laws, and alter them at your pleasure.

But adding is yet more arbitrary; and your author adds more than two-thirds to this text: therefore I recommend to our author's serious meditation that admonition, Prov. xxx. 6, *Add not then unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar. For every word of God is pure. His word* <sup>Rev. xxii. 18.</sup> *is perfect and entire; and he that addeth to it, God will add to him the plagues written in that book.*

But that you may not lean wholly upon what I say in defence of this text we are upon, John xvi. 15, you may consult Tertullian, *advers. Prax.* c. 17. p. 510, where he proves, from this text, that Christ is God.

13. Christ says to the Father, John xvii. 5, *Glorify me with thine own self, with the glory I had with thee before the world was.* Does not this prove Christ to be before the world?

*Soc.* This he answers<sup>q</sup>; that is, the glory I had with thee, in thy decree and design, before the world was.

*Chr.* Does he give any reason why it is otherwise expressed in the text?

*Soc.* No; but he brings other texts where what was only in decree was said actually to be.

*Chr.* Without something in the text to shew that it speaks of such a decree?

*Soc.* Yes, sure; else they cannot be parallel cases to this text.

*Chr.* Let us hear them.

*Soc.* 1 Pet. i. 11, *Searching what, and what manner of time the Spirit—did signify, when it*

<sup>q</sup> Hist. p. 104.



*testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and what was to follow.*

*Chr.* Is there nothing in this text which tells you that it testified beforehand of what was to follow?

*Soc.* He might have spared this instance: the next is better, 2 Cor. v. 1, *We have a building of God, an house not made with hands: here we have*, is, we have it in God's decree or intention.

*Chr.* And is there nothing of that expressed in the text? if you had repeated two words more, it would have told you, that this house *was reserved for us in heaven*; and that it was not to be till after *our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved*; and therefore, that we *groan earnestly after it, expecting it*; and therefore that we have it but in reversion, not in present possession: so that what is meant by *we have* in that text is very plainly told.

*Soc.* His next text will do it, 2 Tim. i. 9, *Grace was given us in Christ before the world was.* Where again, *was given to us* is, was given in God's decree and intention.

*Chr.* And is there nothing in this text to shew us that this was only in God's purpose or decree? If you had repeated but one word before, it had hindered you from producing of this text: for there it expressly tells us, that this grace, given us before the world, was in God's purpose—*According to his own purpose and grace, which was given us before the world was.* And this is the apostle's style in other places, where he speaks of the same, Tit. i. 2, *in hope of eternal life, which God promised before the world began.* Eph. i. 4.—*He hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the*



world. (c. iii. 11.) *According to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord.*

Now if you can shew such an explanation in that text, John xvii. 5, then these may be parallel cases.

But I have another thing to ask in this matter. Do not decrees always look forward, and respect things to come?

*Soc.* Yes, certainly; one is not said to decree what is past.

*Chr.* But our Saviour in this text speaks of what is past—the glory which I had with thee before the world was. Common speech allows to say, I have a reversion; but to say that I had what I have not yet, nor ever had, is a new way of speaking.

But there is more than this yet: You say that Christ had no being before the world.

*Soc.* Yes, that is our tenet.

*Chr.* How had he glory then *before the world*, when he had no being? Was this by way of decree too? Irenæus (*advers. Hæres.* lib. IV. c. 28. p. 347.) quotes this text to prove Christ's existence before the world. And Origen (*in Matt.* p. 326.) says, it was not meant of this world.

*Soc.* Pray let us go to some other text.

14. *Chr.* John xx. 28. *Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God.*

*Soc.* *O my Lord* are words of congratulation to our Saviour, and *O my God* words of admiration and praise to God<sup>r</sup>.

*Chr.* This is very ingenious! But if I should ask who told you this? There is nothing of this discovery in the text. But I wonder he would let either of these belong to Christ, because they seem

<sup>r</sup> Hist. p. 106.

both to be spoken of the same Person as much as words can bear.

*Soc.* The reason is, because they were spoke to Christ; and as a consequence of Thomas's conviction after his having so long remained doubtful of our Saviour's resurrection; of which being now satisfied, he makes this confession to Christ, and therefore at least one of them must belong to Christ.

*Chr.* Then there will be hazard of the other's going along with it, for they are linked very close together.

The truth of it is, our author leans that way; and says, Nestorius patriarch of Constantinople thought so; but he will not trust to that, because it seems a very harsh interpretation to make Thomas answer a question of our Saviour's to him, only by an exclamation, which might serve any question in the world, by saying, *O God!* which a man will do when you pinch his finger; whereas otherwise it was a direct and full answer to our Saviour. His resurrection was a great proof of his divinity: of this Thomas remained a while doubtful; but being convinced by our Saviour, he then acknowledges Christ to be his Lord and his God; and this by way of answer to our Saviour. *Be not faithless, but believing,* says Christ: then Thomas answers and owns his belief, by acknowledging Christ to be Lord and God. St. Cyprian quotes this text as proving the divinity of Christ; (*advers. Jud. lib. II. c. 6. p. 35.*) but we go on.

15. Acts v. 3, 4. *Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost?—Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.*

*Soc.* Thou hast lied to the Holy Ghost; i. e. <sup>r</sup>to us apostles who have the Holy Spirit, or inspiration of God in us.

*Chr.* To lie to an inspiration is a strange expression. In the next place, though you allow the Spirit of God sometimes to be put for God himself, yet it is a little overbold, methinks, to put it for an apostle. There should be very good authority for that, something stronger than one of our author's *supposes*. When was St. Peter called the Holy Ghost before? or the Holy Ghost called by the names of any of the apostles? Because the Holy Ghost inspires me, am I therefore the Holy Ghost? so that if you tell me a lie, it is to be called telling a lie to God? but more especially when the text says, *he did not lie to men*.

*Soc.* That is, not to men only, or chiefly.

*Chr.* No; there is another reason. Men could not know that he lied; but only God, who knew his heart. And therefore it is called a lying to God, and not to men; for there was no evidence produced against him, they knew not but he spoke truth, in telling them the price of his land, which was the matter then in debate.

*Soc.* Our author brings a text to support him, 1 Thess. iv. 8. *He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God<sup>s</sup>, who hath also given to us his holy Spirit*. Here it is manifest that those who despised the apostles are said to despise God, *because God was in them by his Spirit*.

*Chr.* I utterly deny that to be the reason, for that would transfer the honour of God to every

<sup>r</sup> Hist. p. 107.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.



good man, which is, to every stranger I meet, for ought I know to the contrary; that if I despise him, I despise God: which is extravagant even to blasphemy.

But the meaning is, he that despiseth that message which God sent by the apostles, which was the gospel of Christ, he despiseth not man, for it is not the gospel of man, but he despiseth God, the author and sender of it. As if any should return a king an opprobrious answer by his ambassador, the affront could not be understood to the ambassador, but to the king who sent him: but this has nothing in the world to do with our present case, wherein our author would have the honour of God to belong to every man to whom God gave the assistance of his blessed Spirit.

This is a sufficient answer to the historian's interpretation of this text; but I cannot forbear to shew the ridiculous madness of your evangelist Biddle in his exposition of this text, in the above quoted volume of Socinian tracts, entitled, *The Faith of one God, &c.* p. 9, 10, where, instead of Ananias lying to the Holy Ghost, he would very fain (but without any ground) have it understood that Ananias did tell a lie of the Holy Ghost, viz. that the Holy Ghost had put it into his heart to sell his farm, and lay down the price at the apostles' feet; and so was guilty of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, in fathering upon the Holy Spirit that which was injected into his heart by the unclean spirit, i. e. to sell his lands: whereby you must first observe, that it was by the inspiration of the unclean spirit that Ananias, and consequently other Christians of that time, did sell their possessions to



distribute to the necessities of others, which the scripture, and I believe all mankind else before Mr. Biddle, have always ascribed to the great grace with which, we are told Acts iv. 33, God did bless those early converts to the Christian faith.

Secondly, he says, that these words in this text, *why hath Satan filled thy heart to deceive God?* seem to be blasphemy; [that is, supposing the Holy Ghost to be God;] “for it importeth,” says he, “either that God may be deceived, or else that Satan, or at least Ananias thought so, otherwise he would not have proposed in his heart to do it.” Thus delicate Mr. Biddle! I would recommend to his Annotations, 1 John v. 10. *He that believeth not the Son hath made him (God) a liar; because he believeth not the testimony which God gave of his Son.* Will Mr. Biddle hence infer that any man had such a notion of the supreme Being, as that he is a liar? or not rather that, as we are said to crucify Christ afresh by our sins, to grieve the Spirit of God, &c. so by consequence we make God a liar when we do not believe the testimony he has given? though, at the same time, none can be supposed so grossly ignorant of the nature of God, as to think him capable of deceiving or being deceived: no, neither Satan nor Ananias were such speculative atheists, though practically every sinner is such in some degree. But if you will have it, according to Mr. Biddle’s exposition, that not to believe the testimony which God hath given of his Son, is to be a downright speculative atheist, or to think him a liar, which is the same, or worse; then I desire you to look to it, for it will stand you as much upon to clear yourselves from atheism, for

not believing the many testimonies which God has given of the divinity of his Son ; as from idolatry, in worshipping him whom you do not think to be true God.

16. Acts vii. 59. *They stoned Stephen, calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* Here praying to Jesus is called praying to God.

*Soc.* The Greek is, *Lord of Jesus receive my spirit*<sup>t</sup>.

*Chr.* This is only because the word *Jesus* is indeclinable ; that makes it no more *of Jesu*, than *in, by, with, or from Jesu* : and this text is as much *Lord Jesu*, as it is possible for either Greek or Latin to express it.

*Soc.* Well, we will give you another answer ; that is, Stephen called upon God, *and he also said, Lord Jesu, receive my spirit*<sup>t</sup>.

*Chr.* Does your author allege any authority for this ?

*Soc.* No ; not a word : but only that he supposes St. Stephen's vision of Christ at the right hand of God, which he had before the council, to continue still with him.

*Chr.* What is all this to the business ? I cannot see how it concerns this text, or favours his addition and interruption of the sense, which speaks of *Stephen calling upon God and saying*—instead of which our author adds, of his own head, *and he also said*, leaving out the word in the text, for both words cannot be in ; it cannot be both *saying*, and *he also said* ; and he does not so much as pretend that the word *saying* was not right

<sup>t</sup> Hist. p. 108.

translated, or any thing amiss in it: so that here, by his own confession, is both subtraction and addition to the word of God; nay more, a putting in his own invention instead of the word of God: I am weary of this.

17. Acts ix. 14, 21. *To bind all that call upon thy name.* (The words are spoken of the Lord Christ, as is made undeniable by ver. 21.) *Is not this he that destroyed them which called on this name* (Christ's name) *in Jerusalem?*

*Soc.* "The Socinians generally, not only grant, but earnestly contend, that Christ is to be worshipped and prayed to; that he is to be worshipped with divine worship<sup>u</sup>."

*Chr.* This is their opinion; and it is the sore place of the Socinians; herein they divide, and herein they contradict themselves: and instead of answering this text, your author brings several arguments from elsewhere against the divinity of Christ, and to avoid answering, he turns an objector; his arguments are all answered in what is said before, therefore I will not trouble you with them; for we are now upon his reply to the texts that are brought against him.

*Soc.* When he is against the invocation of Christ, (which is not always,) he answers these texts thus: *to bind all that call upon his name*; and again, *them that called on this name in Jerusalem*: he says, the original Greek may be translated several ways: first, to bind all that *are called by thy name*; secondly, to bind all that *name this name*<sup>x</sup>.

*Chr.* We know his gift in interpretations; and

<sup>u</sup> Hist. p. 109.

<sup>x</sup> P. 112.



for answer, we insist that the Greek does not bear his sense, but is rightly translated in our Bibles; and for him to offer nothing against it but his own saying, so, and thus and thus it may be, is no indifferent measure of assurance, which oft passes with him instead of argument.

But in this same chapter, ver. 10, it is said that the Lord appeared to Ananias, and the Lord said unto him, &c.; what *Lord* was this?

*Soc.* It was the true God certainly; for this is the common style of God through all the scriptures.

*Chr.* And it is certain that this was Jesus who spoke to Ananias, and to whom Ananias spoke, and who sent Ananias to Saul, ver. 17. *The Lord, even Jesus, hath sent me*, says Ananias. Hear another text:

Acts xv. 28. *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us.*

18. *Soc.* That is, to God's inspiration in us; and therefore to us also.

*Chr.* To seem good to an inspiration! or to us and to our inspiration! This has been spoke to before.

19. Acts xx. 28. *Feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.*

*Soc.* My author here again disputes the true reading of this text, and says, that some read it, *Feed the church of Christ.*

*Chr.* And we still insist upon the truth of our translation, against his bare saying; which we say is an evident sign of his lost cause, when he has nothing to say but to assert, without proof.

*Soc.* His second answer is, that some masters of



the Greek tongue do render the word thus; *Feed the church of God, which he has purchased with his own Son's blood.*

*Chr.* However skilful in the Greek they may be, the word *Son's* is a plain addition, which is beyond the power of interpretation.

*Soc.* His third answer is, that the blood of God is no more, than the blood which God gave. As the lamb of God is no more, than the lamb which God gave.

*Chr.* The common law of discourse allows me to call any thing mine that belongs to me, as my horse, my cow, &c.; but no language ever called another man's blood my blood, unless my son's, or near relation's, whose blood is really mine: as we call our children our flesh and blood, in which sense you will not allow Christ to be the Son of God.

I come now to your author's fourth Letter, which contains the texts out of the Epistles and Revelation; and there first take notice of his motto-text, Rom. i. 25. *Of these who change the truth of God into a lie, and worship the creature.* And desire your author to reconcile it to their worship of Christ, supposing him a creature, as they do; and their arbitrary changing the texts of scripture, as we have seen; but now to the texts. The first I name is,

20. Rom. ix. 5. *Of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever.*  
*Amen.*

*Soc.* I will undertake he will have something to say against this text; for it is too positive to be endured.

*Chr.* Yet he is more merciful than he used to be;

for here he says only that it is “probable, by some “passages in the Fathers,” (which he does not tell us,) “that the word *God* was not originally in this “text <sup>2</sup>.”

*Soc.* But because this will not do, he answers, secondly, that these words ought to be translated thus; *Of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, God, who is over all, be blessed for ever. Amen.*

*Chr.* This is adding again to the text: for the English is rendered even literally from the Greek, and there is no such word in the Greek as *be, God be blessed*, but it is, *God blessed for ever*.

And the very natural running of the words comes into our sense, *Christ who is*——is what? *God blessed*——there is nothing else for him to be in that text; for these words, *over all*, are but an epithet of the person there described, like *blessed for ever*. The person there spoke of is *over all, and blessed for ever*, and is *God*. For this text is not telling what God is, but what Christ is, of whom only the apostle is speaking from the beginning of this chapter, without the word *God* used at all before that mentioned in this text. And in this case, the only remedy left to the author is, to cut one sentence into two, and apply one of them to a person who is not mentioned at all in the whole discourse. But this itself will not do, for there will want a word to turn the sense to another than the person there spoke of; for read the text, *Christ who is*, this word *is* refers to all the particulars which follow in the same sentence, *is over all, is God blessed for ever*. Now to make a new sen-

<sup>2</sup> Hist. p. 117.

tence in the middle of this there will want another *is*, for it must be either that *something is God*, or *God is something*. *God blessed for ever*, without any more, is no sentence at all; there is nothing affirmed or denied. But to end all these disputes, our author adds the word *be*, after the word *God*, *God be blessed*; and even then it is but possible to become a distinct sentence; for it breaks and tears the sense, and shocks any reader, to stop in the middle of the description of one person, and, without any why or wherefore, to apply two or three of the epithets to another person not mentioned before, and to force in a new word on purpose to bring it in.

But a good cause will struggle through many of these hardships.

But then to call this plain and easy, and most rational, that indeed is a little imposing and hard to be borne, but for so necessary a work as to take away the divinity of Christ, or any argument for the Trinity.

Tertullian (*advers. Prax.* §. 13. and 15. p. 507, 508, 509.) quotes this text as proving Christ to be God. St. Cyprian does the same, *advers. Jud.* l. II. §. 6. p. 35. and Irenæus, lib. III. c. 18.

That other expression in this text, *as concerning the flesh*, that Christ came of the Father only as to what concerned his flesh, or human nature, shews plainly that he had another nature which did not come from the Father, or that was derived to him from his birth of the blessed Virgin; the same caution of expression is used Acts ii. 30, where Christ is called the seed of David, only *according to the flesh*.



21. I would desire among other his congruous and easy interpretations to look into the first verse of this ninth chapter to the Romans; *I say the truth in Christ, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost.* What is the meaning in speaking *the truth in Christ*? Supposing him only to be a man, and absent in heaven. And then *my conscience bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost*: sure to make any thing a judge or discerner of conscience, is to make it God; for that is an incommunicable attribute, by the confession of all: but taking the Holy Ghost in your author's interpretation, only for the inspiration which God sends into our hearts; then you must read the text thus; *My conscience bearing me witness in my inspiration*, which nobody can say but is very familiar and intelligible.

But the apostle here appealing to Christ and the Holy Ghost, as judges of his conscience, I think is a demonstration that they are persons, and that they are God.

*Soc.* Our author says nothing of this text: and now let us follow him.

22. *Chr.* There is something of this in his next quotation, Rom. ii. 16, *God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ.* 1 Cor. iv. 5. *Who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of hearts<sup>a</sup>.*

*Soc.* Christ's knowledge of the secrets of hearts is by the divine word communicated to him, and by revelation from God.

*Chr.* If God reveal to me that another man does now think so or so, does that make me a knower of

<sup>a</sup> Hist. p. 120.



hearts? I know that particular that is revealed to me, but no more; neither do I know it by knowing the man's heart, I know it only by revelation.

But to have a power within myself to know the hearts of all men, to look into a man's heart, and see his thoughts, is not communicable to a creature. *God only knows the hearts of men*, 1 Kings viii. 39.

And that Christ has that attribute of God, of knowing hearts, not when it is revealed to him by another; but that he knows them *in his Spirit*, as it is said of him, Mark ii. 8, and *in himself*, Mark v. 30, is plain from many scriptures besides these now quoted; see John ii. 24, 25. *Jesus——knew all men, and needed not that any should testify of man: for he knew what was in man.*

*Soc.* The Defence of the Hist. p. 53, proves that this was no inherent personal knowledge in Christ, in opposition to revelation.

*Chr.* How does he prove it?

*Soc.* He says, what is known by revelation is an inherent personal knowledge.

*Chr.* That is, such knowledge is inherent, because it is in a man; and it is personal, because it is the man's own person that knows. This indeed is a noble discovery, and by this he would quite take away the distinction betwixt personal inherent knowledge, and revelation; because, says he, revelation itself is a personal inherent knowledge.

But after all this Socinian subtilty, is it possible, or would he have us believe, that he cannot see the difference betwixt what a man knows of his own natural inherent knowledge, and what he knows by revelation; and that for no better reason, but because he knows both; and that it is he himself, his

own person which knows both? A man's natural inherent knowledge is stunted, and cannot go beyond its sphere; and therefore one man's natural knowledge is greater than another's. But there are none so great as to discover some things, particularly the present instance we are upon, the thoughts of the heart; which none but God can know by his natural inherent knowledge. But suppose God reveals to me a particular thought of a man's heart, does it therefore follow that I know it by my own natural inherent knowledge? If I did, I needed not that any should tell it me; and that is the reason given in the text to shew that this knowledge of Christ's was his natural inherent knowledge, because it is said, *He needed not that any should testify of man, for he knew what was in man.* If his knowing what was in man was by revelation, he not only needed, but it was absolutely necessary that some should testify to him of man. I hope there is some difference betwixt this and Elisha's knowing what the king of Syria spoke in his bed-chamber, (2 Kings vi. 12.) which this author makes a parallel place to this of John ii. 24, 25. For first Elisha might have had intelligence from some about the king; which was the thing that the king apprehended, and thought nothing miraculous in it: but suppose God told Elisha; therefore Elisha needed that some should testify of what the king said; and therefore it can be no parallel to that of our Saviour, who did not need that any should testify to him, even of the thoughts of men's hearts; for he not only knew this or that thought, and that when it was told him, but he knew all men's thoughts, *whatever was in man*, without need of any to declare this to him;

that is, without revelation, which cannot be said of any prophet or any creature. And therefore this personal inherent knowledge of Christ's is put in opposition to revelation, contrary to this vain Defence of our historian.

*Soc.* But our author quotes<sup>b</sup> Rev. i. 1. *The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to him, to shew unto his servants.* And what need God reveal any thing to Christ, if he knew all things?

*Chr.* This is spoken of Christ as man. Secondly, it is not said that God did reveal it to Christ, but gave it to Christ to reveal to others; that is, gave commission to Christ to reveal it to John, &c. which does not imply that Christ did not know it before.

*Soc.* But the Defence of this History says, who can give to God?

*Chr.* Christ as man receives all from God: which this author could not but know to be the Christian doctrine, and therefore it was frivolous in him to urge it, without further reasons, as an argument against the Christian doctrine.

23. The third text he quotes out of the Romans is chap. x. 12, *The same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him.*

*Soc.* This and what follows is spoken of God, and not of Christ.

*Chr.* The contrary is most evident, from the fourth verse. The apostle is treating wholly of our Lord Jesus Christ, and making him the object of our faith, as he was under the law, for he applies Deut. xxx. 12. expressly to Christ, and says, *That* <sup>Rom. x.</sup> *is the word of faith which we preach, that if thou* <sup>6—9 11—14.</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Hist. p. 120.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.



*confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe that God raised him——whosoever believeth on him——the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him——for whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him——How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher?*

Here you see the same *him* is carried through all these verses. And the apostle expressly applies to this *him* Joel ii. 32, *Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord*, &c. which is applicable to none but God: and therefore it is certain that Christ is the Lord here spoke of. The Jews had heard of God before; and therefore the apostle could not say——*Of whom they have not heard*, but in relation to Christ; who was not rightly understood by the Jews, who did not apprehend what Moses and the prophets had wrote of him, and therefore they needed a preacher to explain him to them.

Your author cannot deny all the *him's* in this chapter before your text to belong to Christ. But in his old short way, he excepts the *him* in the twelfth verse, and so forward, and the business is done; though the discourse goes as continuedly on as before, and speaks of the same *him*, without any discrimination, or least mark that he is bringing in any other *him*; which would not only be wrong sense, but it would be an express deceit to use such an unseen shifting of persons in an argument, as has been said before. But we go on.

24. 1 Cor. vi. 19. *Your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost.* 2 Cor. vi. 16. *Ye are the temples of the living God.*



*Soc.* The Holy Ghost or Spirit being the inspiration and power of God, the same bodies that are temples of the one must needs be temples also of the other<sup>d</sup>.

*Chr.* First it is absurd and illogical to say, the temple of an inspiration; temples belong to persons: but in the next place, you make a difference betwixt the Spirit and God; they are the one and the other: and in other places you make them the selfsame thing, and no difference betwixt them at all, as I have often observed before.

25. 1 Cor. x. 9, *Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted.*

*Soc.* It should be, *Neither let us tempt God.* But since the former is the received reading of the church, our author has not authority sufficient to counterbalance that; therefore he gives you another answer. He says, that “<sup>e</sup>admitting the reading in “the English Bibles, yet the sense will be, Let us “not tempt Christ, as the Israelites tempted God in “the wilderness.”

*Chr.* But he must confess that this is plain adding to the word of God; for we must not add words to the text, upon pretence of keeping to the sense. But does he not bring some very extraordinary reason to support this opinion of his?

*Soc.* Not one word, but that murmuring against God or Christ is tempting them.

*Chr.* Then he gives us leave to proceed.

26. 2 Cor. viii. 9, it is said, that *Christ, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor.* When was it that *Christ was rich*, and became

<sup>d</sup> Hist. p. 121.

<sup>e</sup> P. 122.

*poor*, if he had no being before he was born of the Virgin?

*Soc.* 'The sense is, though he might have lived rich.

*Chr.* But the text says, that *he was rich*; and we must take your author's word, as formerly, that the meaning is, "not that he was rich," but only he "might have been so, if he would."

*Soc.* The Defence of the History, c. 9. p. 51, gives another answer, viz. that *πτωχεύειν* does not signify to *become poor*, but to *be poor*.

*Chr.* He only says so; which he would have to overbalance the learning of all the translators of our Bible. But in the next place, the stress does not lie upon the word *poor*, but upon the word *rich*; we all know Christ was poor; but the question is, when it was that he was rich.

*Soc.* He says, "the sense of the place is this; "though Christ was rich and glorious, by reason of "the authority and power conferred on him, yet he "was willing to lead a poor life," &c.

*Chr.* In this sense Christ was never poor, for he was always rich in authority; and a man that has authority can never be poor in this sense. Poverty and riches may be taken in many senses; there is rich and poor in eloquence, in beauty, in courage, in sense, in authority, and in money; and if, when you speak of any of these, you make not your discourse proceed of the same, you argue sophistically, and no man can understand you. This is the defence of your History, and has helped him much; this play is not worth the candle: let us despatch.

27. <sup>s</sup>His answer to 2 Cor. xii. 8, 9. is this, that the power of Christ resting on the apostle was only that Christ interceded for that power to rest on him; that is to say, if I beg an estate from the king for you, it is therefore my estate which you possess! And this shall be the way of speaking in <sup>h</sup>this text.

28. And in the next too, 2 Cor. xiii. 14, where *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ* is not his grace, but another's grace, which he only begs for us.

But there is another extraordinary thing in this text. For "it plainly distinguishes," says our author, "Christ and the Holy Ghost from God." Now they are plainly distinguished; but in answer to John i. 1. they must not be distinguished at all.

29. Gal. i. 1, 12, *Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father—I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by revelation of Jesus Christ.*

*Soc.* "i Paul rightly denies he is made an apostle "by man, because he was made one by Jesus Christ, "who in all things acted by the Spirit and directions "of God."

*Chr.* Did not the apostles act by the Spirit and directions of God when they chose Matthias into the room of Judas; and separated Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto God had called them? Acts i. 24.  
xiii. 2.

*Soc.* Yes, certainly; for it is expressly said, that the Holy Ghost bade them do it.

*Chr.* Did they therefore in that receive commission from men?

<sup>s</sup> Hist. p. 124.

<sup>h</sup> P. 125.

<sup>i</sup> P. 126.

ver. 3.

*Soc.* Yes; for it is said that *they laid their hands on them, and sent them.*

*Chr.* Then men's acting "by the spirit and directions of God" does not hinder that such actions are said to be done by such men; for example, Matthias was elected by the eleven apostles, and Barnabas and Saul were separated by the church.

And therefore it would follow, in this sense, that St. Paul did not argue rightly, as our author says he did, when he denied himself to be made an apostle by man, because he was made one by a man who acted by the spirit and directions of God.

But his meaning is plainly this; that he did not receive his commission from, that is, by the mediation of men, but immediately from God.

And if Christ were not more than man, and considered as such in this text, the apostle's words cannot be made consonant, especially as interpreted by our author. Tertullian (*advers. Prax.* §. 27 and 28. p. 517.) proves Christ to be both God and man: *Ex carne homo, ex spiritu Deus*; and then proves the distinction betwixt him and the Father, and quotes this text, among others, to shew that though he was God, yet he was distinguished from the Father.

30. But let us see what art he will find to escape Phil. ii. 5—8, where it is said, that Christ *being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, &c.*

*Soc.* <sup>k</sup> *In the form of God*, that is, being made like God, and namely, by a communication to him of divine and miraculous power over diseases, devils, the grave, the wind, the seas, &c.



*Chr.* A communication of this divine and miraculous power was given likewise to prophets, apostles, &c.; were they therefore in the form of God?

Every body that understands terms, knows what is meant by *matter* and *form*. The form of a thing is its essence, not its shadow or likeness; and therefore whatever is in the form of God is of his essence, and consequently must be God.

And this is the inference the apostle makes, that because Christ was in the form of God, therefore he was equal to God; and that this was not any arrogance or presumption in Christ; for being in the form of God, he was natural God.

But if Christ were originally a creature, as the Socinians would have him, and advanced to the divine honour, or a made God, as they word it, then indeed it could not be excused from a great robbery, presumption, and blasphemy, for him to pretend to be equal to God.

And the apostle in this text seems to have foreseen and obviated the Socinian heresy; for he does not only call Christ God, but tells how he is God: not by gift or donation, or that he was made God, that is a contradiction in the very terms; but that he was in the form and essence of God, and so equal to God, which could not be pretended to without robbery any other way.

Irenæus (*advers. Hæer.* lib. I. c. 2. p. 51.) quotes the 10th verse of this chapter, which immediately follows the words you have quoted, and is an inference from them, viz. *that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow*; and describing what sort of adoration it was which was to be paid to Christ, he

says<sup>1</sup>, that “every knee should bow to him as to our  
“ Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King.”

Clemens Alexandrinus (*Admonit. ad Gent.* p. 7.) having said how God had persuaded men many ways, by prophets, by miracles, &c. at last says, “he emptied himself; and if you will not believe  
“ the prophets, behold the Lord himself shall speak  
“ to thee; who being in the form of God, thought it  
“ not robbery to be equal with God: but the merciful God ὁ φιλοικτίρμων Θεός, emptied himself, desiring to save man: and now the Logos, the Word  
“ himself, speaks to thee, being grieved for thy infidelity.” Thus Clemens.

Tertullian (*advers. Prax.* c. 7. p. 504.) quotes this text, Phil. ii. 6, as proving Christ, whom he there calls *the Word*, to be God. And (*advers. Marcion.* lib. II. c. 16. p. 389.) he says, *Qui credimus*——  
“ We who believe that God dwelt on the earth, and  
“ took upon him the form of a servant, that he  
“ might save man, are far from their opinion who  
“ would have God take care of nothing.”

Origen (*in Matt.* p. 357, of tom. I.) pursuing his allegory betwixt Christ and the church, says, that  
“ Christ being the husband, for his spouse the church,  
“ left his Father ὃν ἑώρα, whom he beheld, or enjoyed  
“ his presence, when he was in the form of God;”  
ibid. p. 374, he says, that “ Christ when he was in  
“ the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be  
“ equal to God, was made a child,” &c. and (*in Johan.* p. 413. of tom. II.) he says, τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ,  
“ the humanity of Christ was made” ἐν μετὰ τοῦ Λόγου, “ one with the Word; he being exalted, who

<sup>1</sup> Ut Christo Jesu Domino nostro et Deo, et Salvatori, et Regi, secundum placitum Patris invisibilis omne genu curvetur.

“ thought it no robbery to be equal with God ; but  
 “ the Word remaining, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὑψεῖ, in its own  
 “ altitude, or Christ in his humanity being exalted  
 “ to the dignity of the Word, which he had before  
 “ with God, the Word being now both God and  
 “ man, Θεὸς Λόγος ὡν ἄνθρωπος, God the Word being  
 “ man,” &c.

But pray what says your author to that part of the text, that Christ *thought it not robbery to be equal with God*?

*Soc.* He renders it thus: “ Who committed not robbery by equalling himself to God,” i. e. did not rob God of his honour by arrogating to be God, or equal to God.

*Chr.* That was answered like an oracle! for it bears two meanings, either that Christ did not arrogate to himself to be God, or equal to God, and therefore did not rob God of his honour; or otherwise it may be understood, that though he did arrogate to himself to be God, or equal to God, yet this was not a robbing God of his honour.

In the last sense, he must either mean that Christ is God, or that it is no dishonour to God to have a creature made equal to him. In the first sense, no possible account can be given why Christ should say, that he *did not think it robbery to be equal with God*; when he intended to say, that he did think it robbery, and that he would not be guilty of such robbery, by equalling himself with God.

*Soc.* Therefore, instead of *not thinking it robbery*, our author puts in “ committed not robbery, by “ equalling himself with God.”

*Chr.* But does he allege that there is any fault in our translation? or that these words *thought it*



are not in the Greek? or that the Greek word does mean both *thought* and *committed*? or that *thought* and *committed* are the same thing?

*Soc.* No; he alleges none of these things; only in the repeating the text, he puts in the word *committed*, and leaves out the word *thought*.

*Chr.* Hoping it would not be perceived; and so he would get some sort of gloss put upon this text, which otherwise admitted of no subterfuge, nor room for wit; for the Greek word is ἡγήσατο, which does not signify *committed*, but *thought*; ἡγήσατο οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν, *he did not esteem, or think it any robbery to be equal with God*.

Again, if Christ was nothing but a servant, and no more than a man, how can it be said that he *took upon him the form of a servant, and was found in fashion as a man*? Our author<sup>m</sup> does not give any good account of this; he says only, that he was like a servant, and like other men. But that does in no wise fill the expression of the text: *the form of a servant* which Christ is here said to take, was his taking upon him our flesh, which appears from the following words: *He took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man*—and this *form of a servant* is compared with the form of God, in which he was before he took upon him the *form of a servant*. The same word is used in both branches of the comparison, and therefore must be taken in the same sense, unless you would make the comparison fallacious, ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων—μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, *being in the form of God—he*

<sup>m</sup> Hist. p. 129.



took upon him the form of a servant: therefore he was as truly God as he was man; as much in *the form of God*, as in *the form of a servant*. And, secondly, he was God before he was man: for observe, it is not said that he took upon him the form of God, because he was always in that form, and so could not take it: for taking a thing supposes me to exist before I take it. Therefore the text is worded, *being in the form of God*, that is, always existing in that, he afterwards took *the form of a servant*. Now if like other men he had no existence before his corporal generation, it could not be said that he took flesh upon him, or that he was made flesh: we do not say so of any man. If you ask a man, When did you take flesh upon you? when were you made flesh? he will answer, I never took flesh, for I was always flesh. Therefore that expression of Christ's *taking upon him the form of a servant*, is not filled by saying he was like a servant. No, being God, he was made man: but in your sense it must have been worded, *being man*, he took upon him to become a servant; that had been proper; for by that he must be supposed to be a man before he was a servant: and till he was a man, he could not take upon him to be a servant: so he could not take upon him our flesh, unless he had been something before.

The Defence of this History, c. 9. p. 51, repeats this objection, viz. "How did he take this form upon "him" (which signifies his own free and voluntary choice) "when he did not take it, but was made "so?"

Now what answer can you imagine he gives to this? "What," says he, "when the apostle says,

“ that Christ *took upon him the form of a servant*,  
“ must we say that he did not? Is it not a plain  
“ contradiction to the apostle?” This is every word  
of the answer he gives. Had any of us given the  
like, he would have found something to have called  
us beyond his familiar and common style of *want of*  
*common sense, impudent, brutal, &c.* which he be-  
stows upon us almost in every page; for pray tell  
me, did that objection deny that Christ *took upon*  
*him the form of a servant*? So far from it, that it  
supposes it, and argues from it, that Christ must  
have an existence before: but it seems all the  
stickler could find out in that objection was, that it  
denied the text, that Christ *took upon him the form*  
*of a servant*. Such a quick sight as this was neces-  
sary to expound the scriptures contrary to the whole  
Christian church, and the common usage of words  
among mankind, to bring down mysteries, and  
make proselytes for Socinus. I congratulate with  
you in your champion. I should have thought it  
to have proceeded from his passion, or been the  
fault of the printer, but that, p. 52, he in other  
words repeats it again, and gives the like answer:  
he puts the objection, that the apostle urging  
Christ’s *taking upon him the form of a servant*, as  
an argument of his love and humility, this must  
suppose a choice in Christ; (for who calls it humi-  
lity in any man to be born poor? does a man choose  
to be born?) therefore that the apostle must speak  
of what Christ did before he came into the world;  
for then it must be that he made his choice of  
coming into the world. To this our author replies,  
“ that the apostle did not speak of what Christ did  
“ before he came into the world.” And he neither

answers one word to the argument, nor offers any reason for his own assertion. This is, Bellarmin thou liest and *ipse dixit* in an extraordinary manner: but, like a wary disputant, who could see the weakness of his cause, instead of answering, he falls to objecting. He says, “that if to be in the form “ of God signifies to be the true God, then the sense “ will be this; Christ being the true God, thought it “ not robbery to be equal with the true God: which “ is just as if one should say, Leopold, who is emperor, does not think it robbery to be equal with “ the emperor. Is it possible men should put such “ a trifling sense on the words of an apostle?” Thus he. And in return to his compliment, I would ask whether it be possible that he should be so trifling as to think his instance of Leopold is parallel to what the Christians teach of Christ? He makes Leopold and the emperor to be the same person, and cannot but know that the Christians make Christ to be a distinct person from his Father. And then from a ridiculous comparison betwixt the same person and himself, he thinks he has concluded against those who make a comparison betwixt two persons. But now to bring his instance nearer to the truth: suppose Leopold should take his son into the partnership of the empire, (as was done several times among the Roman emperors, and as David crowned Solomon in his own lifetime,) and suppose this son, out of love to a company of condemned wretches, should take their guilt and condition upon him, and make himself one of them, might not this love and condescension of his be expressed in words like those in this text? That he who was of the same nature with Leopold, being his natural son, and therefore



equal to him in nature, and likewise joined with him in the government, in both which respects, of nature and authority, he thought it no robbery to be equal to the emperor, that a person of his dignity should *take upon him the form of a servant*, &c. I know this simile will not answer in all points; and I would not have chosen it, but that by following my author I have shewn the disparity of his parallel. Lastly, he cannot apprehend how God can be of no reputation. *Ans.* When several natures are joined in one person, what is proper to any of the natures may be ascribed to the person; as has been said before: thus man is said to die, though the soul cannot; to be cut or maimed, which only the body can suffer: and thus it is that God may be said to be of no reputation, to shed his blood, to die, &c.; though that can befall Christ's human nature only; the godhead is impassible, but the person, who is God, may suffer.

31. I will here subjoin other expressions like to that of Christ's *being in the form of God*. Col. i. 15, *the image of the invisible God*; Heb. i. 3, *the express image of his person*, or of his subsistence, hypostaseos.

<sup>n</sup> *Soc.* Man is called the image of God.

*Chr.* True; but do you not perceive a remarkable difference betwixt these appellations given to Christ, and what is said of man?

A picture or a shadow is a man's image, but not in the same respect as his son, who is the express image of his person, because he partakes of his nature.

*Soc.* This is notorious: but our author answers

<sup>n</sup> Hist. p. 130.



again, that this proves Christ not to be God, because the image cannot be that thing whose image it is.

*Chr.* This is objecting instead of answering to the text: and to this has been replied already, in the words of the above-quoted text, Heb. i. 3, that the Son is the image of the Father's person, or subsistence, hypostaseos; not of his substance or nature, of which the Son partakes equally with the Father: and by the word God, in this text, the Father is meant, as in many other places of scripture; which has been observed before.

Just. Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryphon. Jud.* p. 285.) explains how Christ was the image of God; viz. not on account of his corporal generation, but of his eternal generation from the Father, by which he was with the Father before all creatures.

Τοῦτο τὸ τῷ ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προβληθὲν γέννημα, πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων συνῆν τῷ πατρί.

32. But now to prove that Christ had a being before his incarnation, what words could you invent more full and positive than these, Col. i. 15, 16, 17? *Christ—the firstborn of every creature: for by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him: and he is before all things, and by him all things consist.*

*Soc.* °By *firstborn* is meant the *firstborn from the dead*; that is, Christ was the first creature that rose from the dead.

*Chr.* That is very well! But pray tell me, what

do you think of this argument, *by Christ all things were created*; therefore Christ was the first who rose from the dead?

*Soc.* It is flat nonsense. But what do you bring it in for?

*Chr.* That is the sense your interpretation of this text puts upon the apostle; for that is the proof he brings why *Christ is the firstborn of every creature*, because *by him all things were created*.

*Soc.* *By him*, there, should not be understood of Christ, but of God.

*Chr.* How will that mend the consequence? By God were all things created, therefore Christ was the first who rose from the dead.

*Soc.* That is full as great nonsense as the other. But why may not *firstborn* mean *firstborn from the dead* here as well as ver. 18, where it is said that he is the *firstborn from the dead*?

*Chr.* Because in ver. 18. it is plainly said so: and ver. 25. it is said quite otherwise. For *firstborn from the dead* and *firstborn of every creature* are two quite different things: and the apostle in these two places speaks of things very different: for, ver. 18, he is speaking of Christ as *head of the church*, and (as the fulfilling of that character) of his resurrection, in which sense he calls him *the firstborn from the dead*. *He is the head of the body, the church*, who is *the firstborn from the dead*.

But, ver. 15, he is speaking of Christ in a quite different capacity, viz. as the creator of all things, or that great instrument by which God created all things, the Word, by whom all things were made: in which sense he was prior to all creatures, as the

cause is before its effect : and he was born of God — Was his true image in his natural and therefore eternal generation, before any creature was born in the course of creation, who are images of God too, in their several degrees ; and in this sense it is that he is said to be the image of God, *per eminentiam : the firstborn of every creature* : and this is the proof the apostle brings why he is the *image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature ; for by him all things were created*——

*Soc.* But our author says, that *by him* is meant of God, and not of Christ.

*Chr.* He says it, but he offers nothing to prove it, nor to reconcile the text even to common sense in his way of interpretation : he would have the apostle prove that Christ was the first who rose from the dead, because God made all things !

The word in the original is *ἐν* ; *in him all things were created* : which yet is rightly rendered in the English *by him*. God created all things *in Christ*, or *by Christ* : these terms are synonymous, and so used in the scripture. But your author would rather have it rendered *for* ; viz. that all things were created *for Christ* ; because he would have more latitude by that word to avoid Christ's preexistence to all creatures, which is unavoidable by the word *by* or *in* ; for if all things were created *by him* or *in him*, of necessity he must be *before* them. But our author thinks they might be created for him, that is, for his sake, or with respect to him, and that this might be before he was born.

But in this text all these ways are applied to Christ ; viz. that all things were created *in him*, and *by him*, and *for him*. Will you add to this,



(though I think it is not necessary, the text does so plainly shew its own meaning,) that Just. Mart. (*Dial. cum Tryph. Jud.* p. 284.) expressly applies all this to Christ, as being the Wisdom, Power, Word, Son of the Father, by which he made all creatures. Tertullian (*advers. Marcion.* lib. V. c. 19. p. 484. and 485.) says, *Si non Christus primogenitus*——“ If Christ be not the firstborn of every creature, as the Word of the Creator, by whom all things were made, and without which nothing was made; if all things were not created by him that are in heaven, and that are in the earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; if all things were not created by him, and in him, the apostle would not have said so plainly that he is before all things——And how is he before all, if he be not the firstborn of creatures? if not the Word of the Creator? How can he be proved to be before all, who appeared after all? Who could know him to be before, who did not know him to be at all?” And Origen (*in Jerem. Hom.* I. p. 58. of tom. I.) quoting this text, Col. i. 15, he proves from thence the antiquity of Christ; and from his being the *first-born of every creature* he infers that he is for that reason Πρεσβύτερος, the *Ancient*, which would have been no argument, if it had been meant of his resurrection. And St. Cyprian (*advers. Jud.* c. 1. p. 32.) quotes this text, Col. i. 15, among many others, proving Christ to be the First-begotten, and the Wisdom of God, by which he *made all things*.

*Soc.* Will you hear more of my author's answers to this text? *The firstborn*, that is, most beloved——*By him were all things created*, that is, mo-



deled, not created <sup>v</sup>: *he is before all things*, that is, in worth and excellency. *By him all things consist*, that is, by his wise government they fall into no disorder or confusion<sup>q</sup>.

And he says some of the Fathers said these things upon this text.

*Chr.* They might so: and these things are inferred from this text: for *he* that *is before all things* in existence is likewise so in worth and excellency; and he *by whom all things do consist*, that is, are preserved in their beings, must needs govern so wisely as to keep them from falling into disorder and confusion: and the *firstborn* of God must be most beloved: and therefore his *beloved Son* is the epithet of Christ in the gospel as well as his *first-begotten* or *only begotten*. I say, all these things might be rightly inferred from this text, from the literal meaning of the text; and the Fathers might improve thus upon this text.

The defender of our History<sup>r</sup> has a great deal upon this text; but so confused, and such wild arguments, as if he played booty, and meant to betray his cause. P. 16. he proves that Christ was the *firstborn* only because he had the preeminence, which, says he, is often expressed by *the firstborn*; and therefore concludes, that Christ being called *the firstborn*, only preeminence was thereby meant, and not that he was *firstborn*. From p. 13. to 16. he proves that by these words, *the firstborn, by whom all things were created*, the creation of the world cannot be meant, because, says he, this *firstborn* was Jesus, who was a man. When it is answered (p.

<sup>v</sup> Hist. p. 132.    <sup>q</sup> Ibid. p. 133.    <sup>r</sup> Def. Hist. c. 3. p. 12. ad 17.

14.) that he was God too, he denies it, and that is all his proof, and asks where is he called God in scripture? as if he had never heard of it before. His second proof is, that there is no warrant from scripture for it: "I mean," says he, "that the scripture does not say in express words that Christ "created heaven and earth." He will have the words *heaven* or *earth* in, as you have heard upon John i. 3; yet that itself does not do against this text, Col. i. 16, for there they are expressly named: *By him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth.* Ay, but not heaven and earth itself, replies our defender: and the *all things* of which he speaketh, he limiteth to *all thrones and dominions, principalities and powers, visible and invisible.* These are the heavenly powers spoke of; and I wish our author would tell us which of these are visible. But these are so far from being a limitation, as this author would have them, that it is plain they are but an enumeration of a part; for *visible* is not put after these heavenly *powers*, as this gentleman slyly sets it, the better to serve his turn, but after the *earth*: *He created all things in heaven and earth, visible and invisible.* And these heavenly powers are reckoned as some of the invisible things; and immediately after them it is added again, that *all things were created by him and for him.* His third reason is, that Christ's creating all things is not said in Eph. i. 20, 21, 22. and therefore it cannot be meant in Col. i. 16; nay, he says it would be nonsense in the apostle to speak of it in the Colossians, having said in the Ephesians that God set him (Christ) above the *principalities, &c.* as if Christ in his human nature might not be ex-

alted above them, and yet as God be their Creator: or as if this author had never heard that the Christians said thus. But having called this *absurd, ridiculous, and nonsense*, he ends with no other reason. His dulness or perverseness is insuperable; for it being objected to him, p. 13, that if by the creation here, only the new creation by the gospel be meant, how Christ should be the *firstborn of every new creature*, that is, of every good man, seeing there were good men before Christ, and so he was not the firstborn in that sense; all that our author says to this is, that he was the firstborn of every new evangelical creature; which was not at all apprehending the difficulty, for it excludes all before Christ. But to return from the defender to the historian: none denies but all things were modelled by Christ, and that it might be inferred even from this text; but that therefore they were not created by him remains yet for our author to prove, or to shew us where Athanasius, or any of the Fathers he quotes, says any such thing: he quotes not the places of these Fathers; he loves to fight in the dark. But to shew him that though this text may be applied to the reformation made by Christ in the gospel, which our author means by modelling; yet that it is not only truly but chiefly and literally meant of Christ's creating all things: first, the literal meaning of the *κτίζειν* which is here used is *create, to create*: secondly, the creatures which are here chiefly said to be created by Christ are the powers of heaven, which did not fall, and so came not under the redemption of the gospel model, of which our author would have all this to be meant: *By him were all things created, that are in heaven*—*thrones, do-*



*minions, principalities, powers, &c.* Our author says, that by all this is meant no more than that Christ became the head of the angels: and this was a new modelling of the angels; and modelling is creating, or creating is modelling, &c. But this author might have observed that the apostle in this place speaks first of creating, and then of modelling. Of creating, ver. 16. and 17; and then of modelling, ver. 18. viz. of Christ's becoming the head of the church: *He (Christ) is the head of the body, the church.* There the angels are not mentioned; he became not their head by his incarnation, he was so before: for *he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took the seed of Abraham*, and so by his incarnation became the head of mankind in a more special manner. And after this, ver. 18, where the apostle begins to speak of Christ's modelling the church, there is not a word more of creating: he had done speaking of the one, of Christ's creating, wherein he mentions the angels, and then he goes on to speak upon another point, viz. how Christ became the head of the church, wherein he does not mention the angels, nor speaks any more of creating; and yet this author would confound all these together, and make modelling and creating the same thing: I told you before, upon John xvi. 15, that by this method those who hold that the world was from eternity might answer all the first of Genesis to be only a new modelling, and to mean no more than Ovid's *Metamorphosis*: indeed it confounds all language in the world, and not only the divinity of the Father, his creating the world, or indeed his being, that there is any God at all, cannot be shewn from scripture, if you will allow this latitude of



turning and modelling words from their common and customary meaning. But we go on.

33. Col. ii. 9. *In him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily: and ye are complete in him, or ye are filled by him.*

<sup>s</sup> Thus he repeats that text, wherein he leaves out a very material word, *παν*, *all the fulness*, or *the whole fulness of the Godhead*.

*Soc.* He says that *the fulness of the Godhead is the fulness of the knowledge of the Godhead*: and that this was it which dwelt in Christ.

*Chr.* Both addition and subtraction in one text is very hard! to leave out the word *all*, and put in the word *knowledge*. No text will be able to stand before this: and after all, if it should not do his business—for the full *knowledge of the Godhead* can be in none but God; because, as said before, nothing can hold infinite but infinite. And therefore, if all the *fulness of the knowledge of God* dwells in Christ, it is as full a proof of his Godhead as any can be desired. It must be some consciousness of this made the author leave the word *all* out of this text: he thought it would break the force of it a little; for though the *fulness of the Godhead* be an extraordinary expression, and does in consequence imply the whole fulness, yet the word *all* makes it obvious, and prevents all objections.

*Soc.* But our author quotes Eph. iii. 19, where it is said that the Ephesians might be filled *with all the fulness of God*.

*Chr.* The apostle there makes it very plain that he is not speaking literally, or according to the full

<sup>s</sup> Hist. p. 135.

extent of the words; the whole verse is this, *That ye might know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.* Where it is even self-evident, that the apostle means no more than a very great degree of fulness and knowledge: and it would be perverseness for any one to dispute how a man can know past his knowledge, which is a contradiction. And in this manner of expression it is plain that the apostle saw the contradiction, and therefore intended it hyperbolically: and the whole sentence must be taken in the same sense: but it is not so where one expression of that sentence is joined with plain words, and in an argument, as it is in Col. ii. 9.

Besides, in Eph. iii. 19, the Greek word is *εις*, which signifies *in*; *that ye may be filled in all the fulness of God.* Which is the same expression with that in our present text, Col. ii. 10, *And ye are complete, or filled in him*; that is, *in the fulness of God we are filled.* But it is not said that the whole fulness of God dwells in us: or that it dwells in us bodily, or substantially, (as our author says others do translate it,) to distinguish it from figuratively, as it is in Eph. iii. 19.

*Soc.* Our author says, that *bodily* or *substantially* means no more than what is opposed to the philosopher's knowledge of God, which was not so perfect as the knowledge of Christ.

*Chr.* Did you ever hear of a bodily knowledge before? or that that was ever used to signify a more perfect knowledge? In our way of speaking it would signify a more gross and imperfect knowledge: knowledge is always most perfect when it

is most pure and spiritual; and consequently it is most imperfect the more it grows bodily.

*Soc.* Go on to the next.

34. *Chr.* 2 Thess. ii. 16, 17, *Our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts, and establish you in every good word and work.*

*Soc.* <sup>t</sup> Our author answers this in answer to 2 Thess. iii. 11, 12, and says, “that it is to be understood of Christ’s intercession for us.”

*Chr.* That is altering all the use of words that is known among men. The church of Rome allows an *Ora pro nobis* to the saints; which is a plain distinction between intercession and bestowing. *Establishing the heart* nothing can do but God: and therefore I ought not to pray to any but God to *establish my heart*. If intercession were ground enough, then I might pray to a man to *establish my heart, to give me grace, &c.* because he can intercede for me.

*Soc.* But not so effectually as Christ.

*Chr.* That is true: but it is intercession still; and therefore if intercession will not excuse such a prayer of mine from blasphemy and idolatry, if I make it to a man, it will not alter the case if I make it to Christ, who is no more than a man, as the Socinians do dispute.

35. But see what styles St. Paul gives him, 1 Tim. vi. 14, 15, 16, *Until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ: which in his times he shall shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; which only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no*

<sup>t</sup> Hist. p. 136.



*man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see.*

*Soc.* The last words shew that not the Lord Christ, but God is designed in this whole description<sup>u</sup>.

John viii.  
54, 55.

John xiv.  
7, 9.

*Chr.* They shew indeed that Christ is here described according to his divinity; in which sense he is and ever was invisible: and even in his body he was in some sense invisible; that is, they saw his body, but if they did not understand him to be the Christ, this was called *not seeing* of him: *seeing* is there taken for *knowing* and *understanding*: in which sense Christ tells the Jews that they neither knew him nor his Father: though they said of him that he was their God; and they that knew God are said to see him; *If ye had known me*, said Christ unto his disciples, *ye should have known my Father also: and from henceforth ye know him and have seen him—he that hath seen me hath seen the Father.*

So that these last words in the text, *whom no man hath seen, or can see*, are not in one sense applicable to the Father and in another sense applicable to Christ; and therefore they do not shew (as your author says) that not the Lord Christ, but God is designed in this whole description.

God is not named in this whole description; and why he should not be named, if he had been intended to have been described, I believe our author will find it hard to tell. Why should Christ be named, and only Christ, in this description, if it was intended for another? Why should the apostle lead

<sup>u</sup> Hist. p. 139.



us, and even force us to apply all these divine attributes to Christ, if he designed to persuade us that Christ was not God, and that it would be gross idolatry in any one who thought him so, or worshipped him as such?

And why should any of the divine attributes in this description be in express terms applied to Christ, as we find it Rev. xvii. 14, where he is called *King of kings, and Lord of lords*?

*Soc.* Go to the next.

36. *Chr.* Tit. ii. 13, *Looking for the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.*

*Soc.* “Nothing hinders but that we may believe “that not only the Lord Christ, but God himself “will appear at the last judgment<sup>x</sup>.”

*Chr.* “Nothing hinders!” Yes, I will tell you what hinders our believing it; God has not revealed it, and you must not add to his words: God has not told us that he will appear any other way in the last judgment than by Christ Jesus. God is a Spirit, and must take a body to appear to the eyes; and that God will assume a body distinct from the Lord Jesus, and appear in another body at the last judgment, is a bold presumption, and adding to God’s word to suppose, and never was supposed but by those who will invent extravagant and groundless *supposes*, to elude the plain texts of scripture: it is the opinion and interpretation of the Mahometans, whose greatest error is being Socinians.

*Clem. Alexandr. (Admonit. ad Gent. p. 5. and 6.)*

<sup>x</sup> Hist. p. 14c.

applies this text only to Christ, who was the Word of God, and so true God, and likewise true man, and that it was his apparition at the last judgment that was here spoke of.

“ But now this very Word himself hath appeared  
 “ unto men, who only is both God and man, and  
 “ the cause of all good unto us——for, as said that  
 “ divine apostle of our Lord, *ⁱ The grace of God*  
 “ *that bringeth salvation unto men hath appeared,*  
 “ *&c. looking for that blessed hope, and the appear-*  
 “ *ing of the glory of the great God and our Sa-*  
 “ *viour Jesus Christ.* This is a new song, the  
 “ epiphany or appearance of the Word who was in  
 “ the beginning, and before existing, which hath  
 “ shined unto us: he appeared of late, who before  
 “ was our Saviour.”

37. *Chr.* Heb. xii. *By whom also he made the worlds.*

*Soc.* This is, for *whom he made the worlds*².

*Chr.* But the Greek is δι', *by whom*, Origen (in Joh. p. 56. of tom. ii.) shews the words to be δι' οἷ, *by whom*, and thence proves, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς αἰῶνας πεποίηκε διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ, *that God made the worlds by his Son.* But to end this poor shift, Col. i. 16. it is said, that *all things were created by him, and for him, and in him*; as we have before observed.

ⁱ Νῦν δὲ ἐπεφάνη ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Λόγος, ὁ μόνος ἄμφω, Θεός τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀπάντων ἡμῖν αἰτίας ἀγαθῶν.—κατὰ γὰρ τὸν θεσπέσιον ἐκεῖνον τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόστολον, ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπεφάνη, &c. Tit. ii. 11. Προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἥσμα τὸ καινόν, ἡ ἐπιφάνεια, ἡ νῦν ἐκλάμψασα ἐν ἡμῖν ταῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντος καὶ προύontos Λόγου· ἐπεφάνη δὲ ἑξαγχος ὁ προῶν σωτήρ.

² Hist. p. 141.

*Soc.* Well, then, we must see if we can get any help from the other words of this text: he says some do render the words thus, *by whom he made the ages*.

*Chr.* The Greek word *αἶων* signifies *age*, and it is as often used for *eternity*, that is, *all ages*, or *generations*, or the *age to come*, as we say the *world to come*: hence the word *αἰώνιος* signifies *eternal*, 1 Tim. vi. 16. But suppose it in that sense, how will it help your cause? Will you allow that God made all ages by Christ?

*Soc.* No: that we must not do: therefore our author understands by *ages* only the gospel ages or times.

*Chr.* But by what authority does he do that? Does he allege any thing out of the text or context, or any other authority for it?

*Soc.* No; not a word.

*Chr.* Then if he has power to limit the ages, he may, if he pleases, say, that it meant only the ages of some other reformation than that by the gospel of Christ; some yet to come, perhaps the millenary, or what else he pleases.

38. Heb. vii. 3. Melchisedec is compared to the Son of God in these particulars; as being *without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God; abideth a priest continually*.

These are not literally understood of Melchisedec, only that none of these things are recorded of him; and so he was left in history *without father, &c.* But in these particulars he was like the Son of God, who really was what Melchisedec was there

said to be, *without beginning of days, or end of life, &c.*

*Soc.* But our author says<sup>a</sup>, that of all these things he is only like the Son of God in that particular, of being a *priest for ever*.

*Chr.* By what rule does he exclude all the rest, which are in the same sentence?

*Soc.* I cannot tell indeed.

*Chr.* *Licentia Sociniana* is beyond *licentia poetica*. But how came Melchisedec to be like the Son of God, if there was no Son of God when Melchisedec was made? The pattern after which any thing is made must be before the copy that is made after it.

*Soc.* Ver. 15. it is said that *another priest* (Christ) *ariseth after the similitude of Melchisedec*.

*Chr.* And how will you reconcile these two upon the Socinian principle? For Melchisedec cannot be both after the similitude of Christ, and Christ after the similitude of Melchisedec: but in the Christian scheme it is most easy, viz. the eternal Son of God was before Melchisedec, but incarnate in time after Melchisedec.

39. And yet it was the same *Jesus, yesterday, to-day, and for ever*. As it is expressed Heb. xiii. 8.

*Soc.* Our author says<sup>b</sup> that was spoke of the gospel of Christ not changing.

*Chr.* But the text speaks it expressly of Jesus himself, and we know that the phrase was used to express all time, past, present, and to come, and is the same with the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the begin-

<sup>a</sup> Hist. p. 146.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. p. 147.



ning and the ending, which was, and which is, and which is to come, Rev. i. 8. and other places of scripture.

40. He has two texts out of St. Peter, (1 Pet. i. 11.) *Searching what, and what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ.*

*Soc.* Our author says<sup>c</sup>, that by *the Spirit of Christ* there, is meant only the same spirit of prophecy which was in Christ.

*Chr.* This was spoke of the prophets long before Christ was born; viz. that the Spirit of Christ was in them, and did testify beforehand the sufferings of Christ. Now if Christ had no being before he was born of the Virgin, as you say, how had he a Spirit so long before? And how could his Spirit testify before it had a being?

*Soc.* Therefore our author says not that it was the Spirit of Christ which was in them, but only the prophetic Spirit that spoke of Christ.

*Chr.* But the text says expressly that it was the Spirit of Christ which was in them. This is not interpreting, but running quite from the text.

*Soc.* He says that poets are called the poets of such men as they wrote of, as Virgil is called the poet of Æneas, and Homer of Ulysses, because they wrote of Æneas and Ulysses.

*Chr.* But is there not some difference betwixt calling a man such a man's poet, because he wrote of him, (though that is an expression I never heard used,) and betwixt saying that such a man's spirit was in him, and did signify to him what he should

<sup>c</sup> Hist. p. 148.

say? especially if the man whose spirit taught the other, had no spirit at that time, nor was a man then. A man to teach another before he is born! St. Barnabas, in his Catholic Epistle, c. v. p. 21, 22. says, that the “prophets having the gift (of prophecy) from Christ, did prophesy of him:” Οἱ προφηῖται ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν δωρεάν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐπροφήτευσαν. And St. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Magnesians, says that “they were inspired by his “grace:” Οἱ θεϊότατοι προφηῖται ἐμπνεόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ. Thus these holy Fathers, who lived with the apostles, and learned their doctrine from their mouths as well as from their writings: and one of them was ranked with the apostles, Acts xiv. 14.

41. There is another text in this same Epistle of St. Peter which likewise imports the existence of our blessed Saviour before his incarnation. 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20. *Quickened by the Spirit, by which also he went and preached to the spirits in prison, which sometimes were disobedient in the days of Noah.*

*Soc.* Our author interprets this of Christ’s descent into hell: and quotes Bellarmine<sup>d</sup>.

*Chr.* This is not the only instance wherein your author craves aid of the Romans; but he does not quote the book or chapter of Bellarmine, that you may not find him out, or with more pains than it is worth; but this we are sure of, that the papists generally interpret this of purgatory. And I would desire our author to tell us what business our Saviour had to preach in hell? Is there repentance and remission there? He has given reason to think this is his opinion, which we shall have more occa-

<sup>d</sup> Hist. p. 149.

sion to discourse hereafter. But the orthodox do plainly mean, according to the letter of the text, that it was the Spirit of Christ which preached in Noah, and the prophets of those days, to those spirits which were then bound in the chains of their sins, and which are now in the prison of hell: and that Spirit by which he quickened himself was the same by which also he went and preached in the days of Noah.

42. But here follows a very peremptory text, 1 John v. 7. *There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.*

*Soc.* <sup>e</sup> This verse was not originally in the Bible, but has been added to it: it is not found in the most ancient copies of the Greek, nor in the Syriac, Arabic, or Ethiopic, or Armenian Bibles, nor in the most ancient Latin Bibles: it is not acknowledged by the Fathers; it is wholly rejected by abundance of the most learned critics, and by all acknowledged to be doubtful and uncertain.

*Chr.* This is manifestly false, for St. Hierom <sup>f</sup> does by no means acknowledge it to be doubtful or uncertain: but, on the contrary, tells us plainly that he found out how this text had been adulterated by unfaithful translators, and by others omitted on purpose to elude the truth. And I will shew you hereafter how those whom you quote as the primitive Socinians were notoriously detected in their adulterating the holy scriptures: and their successors

<sup>e</sup> Hist. p. 152.

<sup>f</sup> Præfat. ad Epist. Canon. vide Smith Vindicat. 1 John v. 7. a suppositionis nota Miscell. p. 137, 138. and the Appendix to his Sermon on 1 Tim. iii. 16.



have continued their practice in this ; therefore some copies may want it. But this is only a negative argument, or presumption rather, for it can amount to no more : and in no judicature can stand against the affirmative proof of St. Cyprian, St. Hierom, and other Fathers, and which is admitted in all the churches of Christ : and it is a great providence of God, that, notwithstanding the corrupters of this text, it is still extant in the greatest number of ancient manuscripts. The divines of Louvain having compared many Latin copies, found this text wanting but in five. And R. Stephanus found it retained in the major number of fifteen or sixteen ancient manuscripts which he used. Therefore it is no wonder if Dr. Burnet saw some manuscripts that wanted it, which he has so carefully told in his Travels.

*Soc.* Our author gives a second answer, viz. *these three are one*, that is, are not one God, but are one in testimony ; for they are spoken of here as witnesses.

*Chr.* And their witness, ver. 9, is called *the witness of God*.

*Soc.* So every witness of men which God appoints is called the witness of God, viz. because God appoints it.

*Chr.* But here the immediate witness of God is put in opposition to the witness of men, or other witness of God, which is by the mediation of second causes ; the witness of the three in heaven is compared with the witness of the three in earth. And the conclusion is made, that if we receive the witness of the three in earth, which is called the witness of men, i. e. wrought by the ministry of men, we ought much rather to receive the witness



of the three in heaven, which is called the witness of God, and a greater witness than the witness of men; it is called the witness of God, which he testified, in opposition to what was testified by other means; and this is a demonstration that the text of the three witnesses in heaven must not be left out, because there is a comparison made betwixt the witness of these three, and the three witnesses in earth: so that if you leave out this verse, you must leave out the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th verses altogether, which no Socinian has yet so much as attempted: and the witness of these three in heaven being called the witness of God, in opposition to the same witness by men, is a full proof what was meant, when it was said, that *these three are one*, i. e. are one God; for otherwise their witness could not be the witness of God, that is immediately, as it is there put in opposition to a mediate witness by men, or otherwise.

*Soc.* I have heard this text is not quoted by any of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, and you named Cyprian just now; pray let me hear what he says of it.

*Chr.* In his 73d Epistle, which is directed *Jubaiano*, p. 203, speaking against the baptism of heretics, and shewing that they cannot be the temple of God; he asks<sup>s</sup> “ of which God? If of the “ Creator, he cannot who does not believe in him; “ if of Christ, neither can he be his temple who de-

<sup>s</sup> Quæro, cujus Dei? Si Creatoris, non potuit qui in eum non credidit; si Christi, nec hujus fieri potest templum, qui negat Deum Christum; si Spiritus Sancti, cum tres unum sint, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est?

“ nies God—Christ; if of the Holy Ghost, when  
 “ these three are one, how can the Holy Ghost be  
 “ pleased with him who is an enemy to the Father  
 “ or the Son?”

Here you see he reckons the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, each of them to be God; for when he is supposing the several ways by which any become the temple of God, he computes that it can be but one of these three ways; that is, by becoming the temple either of the Father, (whom he calls Creator,) or of the Son, or of the Holy Ghost, which shews each of them to be God; and he calls Christ expressly God, and says that *these three are one*; and (*de Unit. Ecclesiæ*, p. 109.) Christ says, *I and the Father are one*; and again it is written of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, *and these three are one*. This I quoted before, and I refer you to the Annotations upon this place in Cyprian, to shew you many manuscripts where this text is had, and vindicated from the malice of Socinus; and if you will look into Dr. Hammond, and Pole's *Synops. Critic.* upon this text, you will be further satisfied; for I would not take up time now to go through all this at large.

43. 1 John v. 20. *We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God.*

*Soc.* My author says, that this was a very negligent translation, for whether you interpret *him that is true*, to be God, or to be Christ, no sense can be made of the words.

*Chr.* Does he tell where the nonsense is?

*Soc.* No; he says no more of it.

*Chr.* It seems to me to be so far from nonsense, that I cannot see the least difficulty in it; *to know him that is true*: I cannot imagine what should trouble him at that saying, but that he is resolved to quarrel.

*Soc.* The latter part of the text ought to be thus rendered, *We are in him that is true*, (i. e. in God,) *by his Son Jesus Christ; in God, by Christ*.

*Chr.* But the text is quite otherwise, it is *ἐν, in* his Son: he does not pretend that the original is otherwise, yet he finds fault with the translation, and calls the scripture nonsense.

The apostle immediately subjoins to this text, *Little children, keep yourselves from idols*; which seems to bear this sense: that if Christ were not the true God, he must be an idol, because divine worship was paid to him; and this is an explanation of his calling Christ the true God, viz. that whoever else pretends to it is an idol, and therefore we must worship none else.

There is another part of this text which our author takes no notice of, which does plainly evidence the divinity of Christ, and that is, that *the Son of God hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true*.

To give man understanding is an incommunicable attribute of God; and that is, past all subterfuge, attributed here to the Son.

As knowing the hearts of men is, Rev. ii. 23. *I am he* (saith the Son of God, ver. 18.) *which searcheth the reins and hearts*.

*Soc.* Christ knoweth our thoughts only when



God reveals them to him; and thus the prophets may know thoughts<sup>h</sup>.

*Chr.* And thus I know your thoughts, and you mine, i. e. when we tell them to one another; but does that make me a searcher or knower of your heart? We have spoke of this before upon Rom. ii. 16. and 1 Cor. iv. 5, and shewn that a knower of hearts is he who knows them of himself, without being told by another; and that this is an incommunicable attribute of God.

To what I then said I will only add this, that in the scripture God uses this as a peculiar attribute, as you may read, 1 Sam. xvi. 7. 1 Cor. xxviii. 9. Psal. vii. 9. and cxxxix. 1. Jer. ii. 20. and xx. 12. and many other scriptures: but that which is most remarkable, and belongs particularly to this text we are upon, is Jer. xvii. 10; for what God speaks graciously of himself in that verse, Christ speaks of himself in this.

First, the prophet in the 9th verse shews that none can know the heart: *Who can know it?* And then in the next words God speaks, setting forth his almighty power in that he knew it; *I the Lord search the heart, I try the reins, even to give every man according to his ways.*

And, Rev. ii. 23, Christ attributes the same to himself: *These things saith the Son of God,* (ver. 18.) *I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give to every one of you according to your works.* Irenæus (*advers. Hær.* l. IV. c. 36. p. 369.) reckons this among the attributes of God: and this same text, Rev. ii. 23, is repeated in his text, and quoted in the margent.

<sup>h</sup> Hist. p. 155.



44. I will trouble you but with one text more, Rev. v. 5, Christ is called *the Root of David*.

*Soc.* That is, a root springing from David; as a root of the earth is a root which springeth from the earth; not, on the contrary, a root from which the earth springeth<sup>1</sup>.

*Chr.* This is very fine, the sophism is subtle, and worthy a Socinian. Pray let me know what you do mean by the root of any thing? Is it that out of which the thing grows, or that which grows out of the thing?

*Soc.* That is as commonly known as any thing in the world; for the branches grow out of the root, and not the root out of the branches.

*Chr.* And when you by a figure apply this to families, and say such a one is a branch of such a family; such a one is the root of a family; are not these terms as commonly known as the root and branches of trees? And is not the root springing from a branch the same absurdity as a father springing from his son?

*Soc.* All this is self-evident. Go on.

*Chr.* Therefore, if Christ be *the Root of David*, he must be before David; and this destroys the Socinian principle, which allows Christ no being before he was born of the Virgin.

And therefore your author must get over this, though he is forced to make the root the branch, and the branch the root.

This would have put any less wit or resolution into despair; for the attempt looks as easy to prove day to be night. It is strange he would scruple the Trinity, Incarnation, or any other difficulty, who

<sup>1</sup> Hist. p. 156.

could hope to master this ; and he has done it to a miracle : for he has found a saying, a *root of the earth*, by which is not meant that the earth springs out of that root, and therefore the root may be a branch ; a father may spring from his son, and what you please.

Let us entertain ourselves a little with this great invention, and examine it particularly.

Pray what do you mean when you say a *root of the earth*?

*Soc.* I mean a root that grows in the earth, and so is called a *root of the earth*.

*Chr.* So you may say a root of such a man's who owns the garden, of such a gardener who planted it, of such a one who bestowed it upon you, and a hundred other ways ; but is there no difference betwixt a root that belongs to a man, and the root of that man himself ? betwixt that which grows in the earth, and the root of the earth itself ? Therefore though you may call a tulip *a* root of the earth, yet you would not call it *the* root of the earth : now Christ is called *the Root of David*, not *a* root of David : but pray what did our author mean when he called Christ *the Root of David*?

*Soc.* He meant that Christ was a branch of David's family.

*Chr.* And when did you ever hear a branch of a root called the root of its root ?

It is inextricable nonsense ; there is not a man in the world could speak at this rate, or would be understood if he did : that designing to call John a descendant or branch of Robert, should call John the root of Robert.

And it is impossible for me to think that our

author did believe himself, when he made this distinction: and it is a full demonstration to me, that these men seek not truth, but are resolved to oppose all arguments against their own opinion, though they were as clear as the light.

But (Rev. xxii. 16.) Jesus says, *I am the root and the offspring of David*: here is both root and branch. This grows too hard for a distinction, and cannot be reconciled any other way than as Christ is the root of David, according to his divine nature which created David, and so David sprang from Christ, as a branch or offspring from its root: and then, according to Christ's human nature, he was the Son and offspring of David; as he is prophesied of, Isa. xi. 1, *There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots*: but our author will have it that the branch was the root, growing out of the root; and the rod was the stem which came out of the stem.

See now, upon the whole, what cause your author had to conclude so triumphantly as he does at the end of his fourth Letter, p. 166. "that our Lord  
" Christ, nor the holy Spirit, neither are, nor ever  
" are called Gods nor God in holy scripture; as also,  
" that neither creation (whether new or old) nor  
" any of the attributes of God are ascribed to our  
" blessed Saviour."

Whereas the main of his arguments have been (as you have seen) to ward off those texts in holy scripture which ascribe the name and attributes of God to both the other Persons in the blessed Trinity, and to put other senses and constructions upon them.

But then to conclude from all this that they are



Christ called God.

The Holy Spirit called God.

not so much as called so, after all the pains he has taken to shew in what sense they are called so, is such an assurance as contradicts itself: has he not owned that Christ is called *the Word of God*? and is it not said in express words, John i. 1, that *the Word was God*? and, ver. 14, *was made flesh*? Is it not said, 2 Cor. iii. 17, *The Lord is that Spirit*? and is not the Spirit then called God? In what sense is not now the question? that we have seen already; but he says they are not so much as called so.

*Soc.* I have now heard you to the answers my author gives to those texts alleged by the Trinitarians in proof of the Trinity and Incarnation. It is fit you should likewise answer to those texts he brings in disproof of them; for this completes the work.

*Chr.* In what I have done already, I hope I have not only cleared those texts against which he disputes, as to their own genuine meaning; but have likewise shewed, that our interpretation of those texts is supported by the current sense of the most orthodox Fathers before the first council of Nice; and consequently vindicated the Ante-Nicene faith against the allegations of your author.

That the Trinity was the doctrine of the church before the first council of Nice, proved from Lucian.

But before I come to those texts which he alleges on his side, let me add to the testimonies of the Fathers I have quoted one evidence of a bitter enemy to Christianity, the vile but ingenious Lucian, who lived about one hundred and seventy years after Christ. A man of his sagacity, and who took upon him to ridicule the Christian faith, could not but know what it was, as then generally owned and professed by Christians; especially if (as St. Jerom



in Catal. tells us) that he was once a Christian, and turned apostate. Among other his reproaches upon Christianity he has these words in his *Philopatris*<sup>k</sup>:

“ God reigning on high, great, eternal, heavenly,  
“ the Son of the Father, the Spirit proceeding from  
“ the Father, one out of three, and three out of one  
“ ———I know not what thou sayest; one that is  
“ three, and three that are one!”

Some learned men think that the *Philopatris* was not wrote by Lucian, but by some other about the year 261, which answers my end as well, to prove the doctrine of the Trinity to have been received in the church before the first council of Nice: and next I will go with you to the texts alleged on your side.

<sup>k</sup> Ὑψιμέδοντα Θεόν, μέγαν, ἄμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα, υἱὸν Πατρὸς, πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἓν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία. — οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τί λέγεις, ἓν τρία, τρία ἓν.

# THE

## FOURTH DIALOGUE.

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*A general answer as to the texts urged by the Socinians against the divinity of Christ and the Holy Ghost.*

XVII.  
The texts  
urged by  
the Socini-  
ans against  
the divinity  
of Christ.

1. *Socinian*. THESE begin in the History, p. 4, where several texts are quoted, to prove that the Father is greater than Christ.

*Christian*. That is answered in the Athanasian Creed: that “Christ is equal to the Father as touching his Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching his manhood.” To which I will add, from our discourse, that he is equal to the Father in nature, but inferior in the order of nature, or in relation: and this answers all the reasons and scriptures he produces to sect. 7.<sup>a</sup> wherein he speaks of Christ’s human infirmities and death; for these things befell Christ in his human nature, wherein he was a creature, passible, improveable, rewardable, &c.

*Soc*. But, sect. 7, he proves Christ to be a distinct person from God: for which, I suppose, you thank him; but I see not how it serves his cause.

2. But at the end of this section<sup>b</sup> he intermixes an argument from reason, and argues thus: “’Tis (say the Socinians) as impossible that the Son or

<sup>a</sup> Hist. p. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. p. 12.

“ image of the one true God should himself be that  
 “ one true God, as that the Son should be the Fa-  
 “ ther, and the image that very thing whose image  
 “ it is; which they take to be simply impossible,  
 “ and contradictory to common sense, which reli-  
 “ gion came not to destroy, but to improve.”

*Chr.* What I have said to you appears the clearer for this objection, and shews his mistakes. First, He calls the Son *the image of God*. If by the word *God* here the Father be meant, (as it is often,) then what he says is true; but then there is no consequence in it, and the fallacy will appear by putting the word *Father* instead of the word *God*: for example, “ ’Tis as impossible that the Son or  
 “ image of the Father should himself be that Fa-  
 “ ther, as that the Son should be the Father, and  
 “ the image that very thing whose image it is:” all which is very true, but makes nothing to his purpose.

But now, if by the word *God* you mean the one Godhead, or the divine nature, then his assertion is a mistake, viz. that the Son is the image of God. In this sense he is not the image of God, for he himself is God: but he is the image of the Father, from whom he took his nature; and therefore, though he has the same nature with the Father, yet he *is not the Father*. And we see the same in the parallel of mankind. I put a case: Adam begat Gen. v. 3. a son in his own likeness, after his image, and called his name Seth. And the word *Adam* signifies *man*, and sometimes is taken to mean *man*, that is, mankind in general, or the human nature; and sometimes it means only the first father, who had that for his particular name: in which sense only

it is that Seth can be called the son or image of man, that is, of his father Adam. But otherwise he cannot be said to be the son or image of man, for he himself is man, and he cannot be his own son or image. But the terms of father and son respect only the persons, not the nature of man; and thus it is in God. And our author's mistake arises from not considering aright of this unity of nature, and diversity of persons, which appear visibly both in the divine nature, and in the human, which was made after its image and likeness.

*Soc.* At the end of sect. 7.<sup>c</sup> he promises many considerations and passages of scripture, which no less than demonstrate it to be false that Christ is God: and the demonstration is this, sect. 8, because so many texts expressly declare that *only the Father* is God.

3. The first he brings is John xvii. 1, 2, 3. *Father, this is life eternal, that they know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent*: here the Father is called the only true God.

*Chr.* But there is a vast difference betwixt saying that *he is the only true God*, and that *he only is the true God*. There is but *one only true God*, or one divine nature, and each of the persons do partake of this nature, that is, is this *one only true God*. But then you must not say of any of the persons that he only is this God, because the other persons do partake of the same nature, and so are the same God. So that the word *only* makes nothing in this argument: and saying *the only true God* means no other than if he had said *the true God*, or God single, without either the word *true*

<sup>c</sup> Hist. p. 13.



or *only*: for we all agree that there is but one true God. These are the attributes which belong to the divine nature, and consequently to every person who partakes of it; and therefore they do not distinguish one person from another, nor are they meant in any such sense in this text.

4. *Soc.* The next text is 1 Cor. viii. 6. *But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things.*

*Chr.* We say there is but one God, and that the Father is that God; and this text says no more: *The Father, of whom are all things*, means God in his nature, which includes the whole Trinity; and sometimes it is taken personally to mean only the Father, as has been already discoursed: and this will answer the other texts he there brings.

5. *Soc.* Sect. 9. and 10.<sup>d</sup> he objects why Christ should have the assistance of the Holy Ghost, he himself being God the Son.

*Chr.* Christ did submit himself to all the infirmities of our nature that could be distinguished from sin: for he came to be an example to us; which he had not been, if his divinity had exerted itself to the utmost. Therefore he was perfected, as we are, by the unction of the Holy Ghost; received baptism from John the Baptist, and fulfilled all righteousness, or constitutions and means of righteousness, to which other men were obliged: he increased in wisdom, and ascribed to the Father and to the Holy Ghost the works which he did: nay more, he submitted to receive comfort and assistance from angels, and to be supplied in his temporal necessities from the ministry of men and women: in short, to

<sup>d</sup> Hist. p. 14, 15.

be despised, suffer, die, and be buried; leading us through every step of our way to heaven: thus thereby approving himself to be the *Captain of our salvation*, as the scripture speaks: *For it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through suffering*—*Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren.*

Heb. ii. 10.  
Ver. 17.

6. *Soc.* Sect. 11.<sup>e</sup> he says, if Christ had been more than a man, the prophecies of the Old Testament would not have described him barely as *the seed of the woman, the seed of Abraham, and a prophet like unto Moses.*

*Chr.* This must be a wilful mistake in our author; because he pretends to answer many texts in the Old Testament which do plainly speak Christ to be more than man: for example, when Christ was prophesied of in these words, *Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given*—*He shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. A virgin shall conceive, and bare a son, and shall call his name Immanuel*; that is, *God with us.*

Isa. ix. 6, 7.  
vii. 14.

*The Lord said unto my Lord*: by which Christ proved that he must be more than the son of a man: *If David call him Lord, how is he his son?* and this argument was so plain as to silence the very obstinate Jews.

Psal. cx. 1.  
Matt. xxii. 45.

*Soc.* But he answers these texts afterwards, and, thinking them of no force, he does not quote them now.

*Chr.* That is begging the question: however,

without naming these, he should not have said that there was nothing in the Old Testament which spoke of Christ otherwise than as a man; or that it described him barely as a man: the contrary to which himself must know.

These are all his arguments against the divinity of Christ: let us see his proofs as to the Holy Ghost: they begin p. 16. and there he immediately falls into his old contradictions of proving the Holy Ghost *to be God*, and *not to be God*; *to be a person*, and *not to be a person*; and, which is extraordinary, he proves both by the very same argument.

He says that the "Holy Ghost, or Holy Spirit, is  
"to be taken in the same sense that we commonly  
"say *the holy wisdom*, or *holy will* of God," or, as  
he said before, p. 16, "*the power* of God; and that  
"they are spoken of as one and the same thing."

The arguments of the Socinians against the divinity of the Holy Ghost.

r. That the Holy Ghost is only the power or wisdom of God.

And here (without his intention, no doubt) he has fallen upon the very division of the faculties of the soul and of the persons of God, *power*, *wisdom*, *will*.

But now to his proofs: where he speaks consistently to himself, he goes nearer to prove the Trinity than what he himself would be at p. 83. which we have quoted before, where he proves that "God's  
"word, or wisdom and power, is not something  
"different from God, but, being his wisdom and  
"power, is God."

And yet here<sup>f</sup> he says that a "manifest distinction is made, as between God and Christ, so also  
"between God and the Holy Spirit."

By the Holy Spirit, as he tells us, is meant God's power, and wisdom, and will.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. p. 17.



These he makes to be God, and to be manifestly distinct from God: and then these three, power, wisdom, will, are the very three persons in God which we have described.

This in him was being led near the Trinity, even while he was disputing against it.

And it appears yet more in this, that when he endeavours to get off from this, he falls into manifest contradictions: for example, he says, p. 16, “that the Holy Ghost, or Spirit, is only the power of God, at least not himself God.” And, p. 17, “that ’tis impossible the Spirit should be God himself.”

And yet, as before is said, p. 83, he gives the same reason why the Word is not any thing different from God, because it is the power of God, which is God. Here the Spirit or power of God is God. P. 17. “It is impossible the Spirit should be God.”

The matter was this, p. 83: the Word must be the same with the power, and the power the same with God, to get over that unanswerable text, *the Word was God*.

But, p. 17, the Holy Ghost must be different from God, to hinder him from being God.

And these contradictions are no way reconcilable but in the true notion of one God, and different persons.

2.  
That the  
Spirit is  
obtained of  
God by our  
prayers.

*Soc.* The Spirit is obtained for us of God by our prayers; and therefore it is not God. Luke xi. 13. *How much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?* If we say these texts are to be understood, not of the person of the Holy Ghost, but of his gifts and graces, the Socinians readily confess it; but they say also, that



if the Holy Spirit were at all a person, much more a God, his gifts and graces would be bestowed by himself<sup>g</sup>.

*Chr.* If they be his gifts, they must be bestowed by himself, else they were not his gifts; for my gifts are what I myself bestow, not what another man bestows: so that your very argument confutes itself.

Secondly, They are expressly called his gifts, and that they are *bestowed* by him. 1 Cor. xii. 8—11. *For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.*

Now as to the seeming difficulty how these graces should be the gifts both of the Father and the Spirit, they being two persons, it is easily answered by their being one God; whereby, as before told, all the three persons are joint, as in their natures, so in all their operations; though yet some operations are more peculiarly, but not exclusively, attributed to one than to another.

And this is remarkable in this very chapter, ver. 4, 5, 6, where a trinity of persons and sorts of gifts are plainly distinguished. *Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administrations, but the same*

<sup>g</sup> Hist. p. 19.

*Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God who worketh all in all.* Here gifts are attributed more peculiarly to the Spirit, who inspires us; administrations to the Lord, who governs us; and operations to God, who gives us power to work, who *works all in all* in us.

But now, to turn your argument upon you, I desire to know how you will reconcile the Father's and the Holy Ghost's bestowing gifts, without making them several persons? that is, how the Holy Ghost could bestow gifts, if he were not a person? For our discourse now is only of him; and if he were only the gift, and not the giver, he could not be said to bestow; a gift does not bestow itself.

Lastly, reconcile or condemn your own sects, who own the Holy Ghost to be a person: and Biddle, in his Confession of Faith, artic. 6, *of the Holy Ghost*, calls him expressly "the third Person in the holy Trinity."

3.  
That no  
prayers are  
made to the  
Spirit.

*Soc.* In the same place he says that in the scripture no prayers are made to the Spirit.

*Chr.* Wherever God is invoked, the Spirit is invoked: nay more, he is often included in the term of Father, whenever we say *our Father*, by which the whole Trinity is meant, who are jointly the Father of all creatures; but this has been observed before.

*Soc.* Sect. 4. p. 19. he says, "The scripture speaks of God as but one person."

*Chr.* That is, where the scripture speaks of one God, he would have it implied that there is but one person in God, which the scripture nowhere says.

*Soc.* Page 20, he lays stress upon God being spoke

of in the singular number, which he thinks could not be, if he had three persons.

4.  
That God is  
spoke of in  
the singular  
number.

*Chr.* This is no more than saying God is one, which the Trinitarians assert as much as he: but God is likewise spoke of in the plural number; as, *Let us make man*, Gen. i. 26, &c.

*Soc.* He says, that is according to the style of a prince, who says, We do this or that, when it means only himself.

*Chr.* I deny that it means only himself. A prince takes that style to shew he does nothing by himself, that is, without counsel or advice, and therefore his acts are the acts of a great many, or as he is a body politic, which implies a great many, all of whom he represents: and I suppose none will say that any of these reasons has place in God: and therefore it is very ridiculous, as well as false reasoning, to pass over the most weighty and serious style of scripture, upon the compliments or infirmities of princes.

*Soc.* But he gives an instance of St. Paul<sup>b</sup>, who was no prince, nor temporal great man, who wrote, 2 Cor. x. 2, *Some think of us as if we walked according to the flesh*, which, he says, St. Paul means of himself only.

*Chr.* I must ask his pardon: it seems plain to me by those words, that St. Paul spoke of a scandal raised against more than himself, against the Christians or the apostles; which is undeniable from the two next verses; *for*, says he, *though we walk after the flesh, we do not war after the flesh: for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal*. Does the apostle (think we) mean his own warfare only, or not rather the Christian warfare?

<sup>b</sup> Hist. p. 21.



*Soc.* But though princes sometimes style themselves in the plural number, yet he says, <sup>i</sup>“No instance can be given in any language where more persons are meant by the singular number, as *I, thou, he, him, &c.*” He says, “Such speaking is contrary to custom, grammar, and sense, which are the laws of speech: <sup>k</sup>therefore the holy scriptures always speaking thus of God, either he is only one person, or the scriptures are one continued ungrammatical solecism and impropriety, and that in the chief article of faith; which no reasonable or good man can or ever will allow.”

*Chr.* Which no reasonable, good, or modest man would assert in terms so irreverend of the holy scriptures, and God their author; and in such fulsome assurance of his own wit.

And after all, this is not true: for in common discourse the singular number is as oft put for the plural as the plural for the singular.

It is as common to say, such a king marched, or fought, or retreated, by which his whole army is meant, as to style himself *us* and *we*.

When we say, Man fell, Christ came to redeem man; do you mean only some one particular man? or by this singular number are not many men meant?

But now give me leave to retort this argument upon him. What grammar will he find for God's Gen. iii. 22. calling himself *us*, and saying *one of us*? *the man is become as one of us*? Abraham speaking to three Gen. xviii. persons, to say, *My lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, pass not from thy servant—But wash your feet, and rest yourselves—and comfort your*

3.  
ver. 4.

<sup>i</sup> Hist. p. 20.

<sup>k</sup> P. 21.



hearts——And they said, *Where is thy wife?*——Gen. iii. 9, 10.  
*And he said, I will certainly return unto thee——*  
*And the men rose up——And the Lord said, Shall*ver. 16, 17.  
*I hide from Abraham what I do?*

Here are three men spoke of and spoke to both in the singular and plural numbers promiscuously: this is odd sort of grammar.

By what rule of grammar will he construe this sentence?

*Before Abraham was, I am.* He would do as John viii. 58, 59. the Jews did, if he durst, cast stones at Christ for such nonsense or blasphemy. And now must the scripture be “one continued ungrammatical solecism” and impropriety, and that in the chief article of “faith,” because these and the like expressions are out of the road of common speaking, and will not fit our poor circumstances?

Or if it must be so, unless these sayings are reconciled, and if they cannot be reconciled to common sense but by the doctrine of the Trinity, then here is an invincible argument for the Trinity, made out of this objection, and that by conforming, “not only” to grammar, but to the custom of all nations “which understand to speak intelligibly and sensibly.” With which excellent rule our author ends this paragraph, beginning of p. 22, and all that he has to say out of scripture against the Deity of the Holy Ghost.

*Soc.* He comes next to the Creed, and says, the Objection from the Creed, p. 22. Son and Holy Ghost are not called God in the Apostles’ Creed.

*Chr.* God is named at first as a nature or species to individuals. “I believe in God.” Then the several persons follow in their order: “The Father,

“his Son, the Holy Ghost.” That the word *God* was not applied to each of them is no objection; our way of speaking at this day being the same; as when we say, “God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,” wherein the nature of God is intended to descend to the second and third person: and if this be sufficient with us to express our meaning, it was much more so before the Arians had disturbed the doctrine of the Trinity; which occasioned a further explication of it in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds.

Let me once more retort upon this author, and ask him what tolerable sense he will make of this Creed upon his scheme; that is, supposing the Holy Ghost to be nothing different from God, more than a man’s power or wisdom differs from himself. As to say, I believe in a man; and I believe likewise in his spirit: which is the same as to believe likewise in himself. Then he must give us some good reason how believing in the Holy Ghost came to be a distinct article by itself from that of believing in the Father; and put at that distance from him too, as to have more than two-thirds of the whole Creed interpose.

I doubt this would not pass “according to the custom of all nations which understand to speak intelligibly and sensibly.”

To divide a man betwixt himself and his spirit, and to make two articles of these, that may do something; because a man has a body and a spirit, and they may be divided: but to divide God, who is all spirit, betwixt himself and his Spirit; and to put in the Son betwixt them, and to make three articles of these, cannot be put into sensible or intelligible

language by the custom of any nations yet extant.

Nor could they think this “an accountable and “reasonable faith,” as our author<sup>1</sup> infers the Socinians’ to be, from this their excellent and plain exposition of the Creed.

And now, as a conclusion, sect. 6. p. 24, he in a meek and modest way tells the Trinitarians that their faith is absurd, and contrary both to reason and to itself, and therefore not only false, but impossible; that it is of all others the most brutal; and that not to discern it is not to be a man, &c. But of this sort of treatment we have plentiful store in your author.

*Soc.* You have quoted several of the Fathers before Nice on your side: we have as ancient on our side: and it is fit our evidence should be heard as well as yours. Our History says, <sup>m</sup>“They whom XVIII.  
The pre-  
tence of the  
Socinians  
to anti-  
quity. “we now call Socinians were by the Fathers and “first ages of Christianity called Nazarens. They “were also in those first times called Ebionites, Mi- “neans, Samosatenians;” and several other names he there reckons up.

*Chr.* They were so called and condemned as heretics. Behold the Fathers of your church!

But he joins the Arians with the orthodox against all these, and says, that “the writings of these ancients are all lost, being destroyed by the Arians “and catholics.”

So that the Arians were enemies to these ancients, which will break their succession mightily, or make it run under ground for many centuries, till it broke

<sup>1</sup> Hist. p. 24, 25.

<sup>m</sup> P. 26.

out again in Socinus fifteen hundred years after Christ.

*Soc.* But what do you say to the several names by which they were called in the primitive times<sup>n</sup>?

*Chr.* They were the names of several heretics, as you will find in Irenæus, Eusebius, Theodoret, Epiphanius, and others: and they stand to this day condemned as such by the whole Christian church. I cannot imagine what advantage your author proposes by this.

Neither does he tell us the opinion of these ancient heretics, as to the question in hand, how they agree with the Socinians, and yet deserved to be persecuted, and have their books burnt by the Arians.

But that is no matter: the names are old names, and sound like antiquity; and every body will not examine whether they were Fathers or heretics, but think this opinion of the Socinians has been very ancient.

But if antiquity alone would do his business, I can help him to an elder precedent than any of these: Simon Magus was the first broacher of this doctrine, and father of all the heretics he has named.

1 John iv.  
1, 2, 3.

St. John says that many of these false prophets were gone out into the world in his time: and tells you what their opinion was, viz. *that Jesus Christ was not come in the flesh*: and he calls this *the spirit of antichrist, which was come into the world*; and it is the same with the Socinian opinion, that Christ had no being before he was born of the Virgin, and therefore could not come in the flesh. This

<sup>n</sup> Hist. p. 26.



opinion was against the Arian as well as the orthodox, and not revived till Socinus.

*Soc.* Our author tells you<sup>o</sup>, that that is not the meaning of that text of St. John, but that this saying, *came in the flesh*, (or *in flesh*, for so it is in the Greek,) is opposed to these false prophets and teachers that affirmed Christ had not a real body of flesh and blood, but a spiritual; and consequently was not a true man, nor the offspring of David. On the contrary, St. John here teaches that *Christ is come in flesh*, or *in the flesh*, that is, *was clothed with a real body of real flesh*.

*Chr.* I grant that St. John's words are full against these heretics: but will that excuse you? This text is so worded as to detect you both: for St. John does not only say that Christ was flesh, but that he came in that body of flesh.

*Soc.* I told you that means no more than that he was *clothed with a body of flesh*.

*Chr.* But the text says that he *came*.

*Soc.* Yes: he came so clothed.

*Chr.* Must he not exist then before he came, and was so clothed? was it nothing that came, or was clothed? Your Socinians confess that Christ was flesh; but you deny that he came to take flesh upon him, for you say that he had no being before he was made flesh. But the scripture says, that *God sent forth his Son made of a woman*; and that Christ *took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men*. Could he take this form and likeness upon him before he had a being? St. John says not only that *Christ was flesh*, but that he was *in the beginning with God, was sent by God*

Gal. iv. 4.  
Phil. ii. 7.

*to take upon him our flesh*, that he came from God to do it, and that to deny that he came is to be an antichrist; and how he could come, and be sent, and take upon him the form or likeness of men, and yet be nothing, as you say, before he was born, this lies upon you to explain.

*Soc.* I have told you all my author says: but give me leave to pursue it a little further. Is it not a common saying, that such a man is come of such a family? Yet this does not suppose that he had any being, or that he really came, before he was born.

*Chr.* I think it does. You could not say a child is born, if it were not a child before it was born: but you could not say, that child took upon him the form of a man: a man does not take upon him his own being.

Heb. vii. 10,  
5.

*Soc.* But Levi is said to be in the loins of his father before he was born, and that the Jews came out of the loins of Abraham.

*Chr.* And is not that literally true?

*Soc.* It is true only as to the matter of their bodies: for that really came from their fathers. The soul is supposed by a figure, which takes the part for the whole.

*Chr.* But Christ, you confess, came not by corporal generation, therefore he must come some other way; and must as really exist before he was born as the matter of my body did exist before I was born.

*Soc.* The substance of his body he took from his mother, by which he was the seed of David.

*Chr.* But something he took likewise from his father, by which you confess he is truly called the

Son of God : so that what he took from his Father must exist before he was born, as much as what he took from his mother did exist before.

*Soc.* You say, that what he took from his Father was from eternity.

*Chr.* Yes : but that substance which he took from his Father, being joined to the substance which he took from his mother, is what we call his incarnation : as generation is not the begetting of a soul, but the joining it to a body. And without this you cannot verify the form which you yourselves allow, that he was begotten of God : for there is difference betwixt creation and generation. We are all created by God, and are his sons in that sense ; but Christ only is his begotten Son, by which he partakes of his substance, and his whole and perfect nature, as all begotten sons do among us.

*Soc.* At this rate Christ was twice generated, once from eternity, and once at his incarnation.

*Chr.* I grant it : for his eternal substance, which he took from his Father, being by the operation of the Holy Ghost joined in one person with the human substance which he took from his mother, is called his incarnation ; and is likewise called generation, as he is called my father who is the instrument of joining my soul and body together ; not that he begets my soul, or it comes from him otherwise than as joining it into one person with my body. Thus Christ is not the Son of his own Spirit, otherwise than as it formed his flesh in the womb of the Virgin, and joined it to his person.

*Soc.* But why was his human generation performed by the Holy Ghost, whereas his eternal generation was from the Father only, as you say ?



*Chr.* Do not think I will take upon me to explain all the hidden mysteries of God, and this does no ways concern the subject we are upon; only that it proves démonstrably that the Holy Ghost is God, because, if he were not, Christ could not be called the Son of God from his being a person: for begetting is the most personal action can be imagined: naked qualities cannot beget a man: whatever begets must have substance; therefore the Holy Ghost must be a substance, and must be God, because what he begot is for that reason called *the Son of God*; and Christ must likewise be God, because he partakes of the substance of God: for, as before is said, this is the difference betwixt creation and generation: in creation we partake of such substance as God pleases to give us; but generation is partaking of his own substance who generates us.

*Soc.* Then Christ partakes of two substances of God; of the Father's substance in his eternal generation, and of the Holy Ghost's in his human generation.

*Chr.* The substance of God is not divided among the divine persons; there is but one substance or nature, which exists in three distinct subsistences or persons, as has been said before: and this substance being, by the operation of the third Person, united to a human substance, is truly generation.

*Soc.* Then Christ partakes of this substance twice; once from the Father, in his eternal generation; and once from the Holy Ghost, in his human generation.

*Chr.* A man cannot partake anew of what he has already: and the very word *human* generation might set you right in this matter; for it was



Christ's human substance which did partake, or was made one person with his divine substance, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, as one corporal substance partakes or is made one person with one soul or spiritual substance by corporal generation.

*Soc.* Can one substance partake of another substance?

*Chr.* Nothing else but substance can partake of substance; their being united so as to make up one person is called their partaking of one another. Christ did not take his divine substance from the Holy Ghost; but by the operation of the Holy Ghost his divine substance was united into one person with his human substance, and his human substance did partake of his divine substance by the operation of the Holy Ghost.

Thus, in respect of his divine substance, the Holy Ghost did unite it to his human substance.

In respect of his human substance, the Holy Ghost did exalt it into a personal union with his divine substance.

In both respects he was begotten by the Holy Ghost; but in different manners, according to his different natures; as is to be seen even in human generation. Thus far towards framing in ourselves some notion of the mysterious generation of Christ in the womb of the Virgin.

But there is an easier answer to the objection; for you have heard, in what has been said before, that in the union of two natures in one person whatever belongs to either of the natures is verified of the whole person; as we say that man is mortal, because his body is such; and as truly we say that he is immortal, because his soul is such: and by

this rule we may truly say that Christ was begotten by the Holy Ghost, and was his Son, for so he was as to his human nature; and likewise that he was not Son to the Holy Ghost, but only to the Father, from whom only he took his divine substance; for that is true as to his divine nature; and both these are truly verified of his person, which is both.

*Soc.* Let us now, if you please, return to our History; for my author lays stress upon that, and it is not the least plausible part of his book.

*Chr.* And there is nothing in his book shews the weakness of his cause more than this; for he there confesses that which, if he had denied, would have been my greatest task to have proved against him: and that is, that the Socinian opinion had been all along condemned in the church as heretical: for all these were condemned heretics, whom he names for that opinion, in the first ages of Christianity.

And to render them the more condemned, they differed among themselves, even in that heresy, as the Socinians do at this day; besides other gross and abominable errors, which the Socinian-Unitarians do abhor as much as we do. Of those who called themselves Christians, Simon Magus was the first who appeared in disgrace of the Trinity.

Acts viii.  
13, 18.

He was converted and baptized by Philip; but had so contemptible an opinion of the Holy Ghost as to think he might be purchased with money. After this, falling from one error into another, he at last set up his whore Helena for the Holy Ghost, and instituted beastly carnalities for the worship of God, wherein the impure Gnostics followed him<sup>p</sup>,

<sup>p</sup> Epiph. Hær. 21. Iren. advers. Hær. c. 1. l. XX.

who boasted themselves the greatest men of reason, whence they assumed to themselves the name of *Gnostics*, from their exceeding other Christians in knowledge.

The denial of the Trinity is ever attended with other errors, which appeared in Simon Magus, who, denying the Trinity, did likewise hold that the world was made by angels, held magic and idolatry lawful slighted the law of Moses, as not being from God, and allowed of promiscuous marriages and all sensuality.

The first our author names in his list of the Socinian Fathers are the Nazarens; a sort of Christians who affected that name rather than to be named after Christ or Jesus. Epiphanius<sup>a</sup> tells us they were perfect Jews, they retained circumcision and the Judaical rites, and differed from the Jews only that they believed in Christ.

They used a Gospel which is called *the Gospel of Peter*.

The Ebionites, whom our author reckons next, so called from Ebion, held that Christ was born of Joseph as well as of Mary, (which our modern Socinians do abhor;) they lived according to the Mosaical law<sup>r</sup>, and received only *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, but they called the apostle an apostate. Symmachus, whom our author mentions, was one of those that translated the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Greek. There are others likewise who are called Ebionites, who in all other things agree with the former; but they say that

<sup>a</sup> Epiph. Hær. 29. Theod. Hæret. Fab. lib. II. c. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. c. 1.

Christ was born of a virgin, they use only the Gospel according to Matthew, and observe both the Jewish and the Christian sabbath. Irenæus (*advers. Hæres.* lib. III. c. 4. p. 257.) reckons Cerinthus<sup>s</sup>, and before him the Nicolaitans<sup>t</sup>; who had been put in with the rest, but that they are named Rev. ii. 15.

He tells you that Paulus of Samosata was condemned by an episcopal council assembled in his own city of Antioch; and Theodorit says further, that he publicly renounced this error.

And that by the providence of God these heresies were so extinguished that their very names were not known to many.

But now it is thought a fit season to revive them again.

And since it must be, behold the original of the Socinians, and the Fathers of their *no church!* such lewd and scandalous heretics, as I am sure any modest Socinian will start and be amazed when he shall reflect from what sort of men he has derived his faith, and adventured to differ from the whole catholic church of Christ, not only in this, but in all former ages.

*Soc.* Eusebius<sup>u</sup> (*Hist.* lib. V. c. 28.) and Theodorit (*Hær. Fab.* lib. II. c. *de Artem.*) say that these Nazarens constantly affirmed that they derived their doctrine from the apostles of our Lord, and that it was the general doctrine of the church till the popes Victor and Zephyrin set themselves to root it up.

*Chr.* They say that the Nazarens affirmed this;

<sup>s</sup> Epiph. *Hær.* 29. Theod. *Hæret. Fab.* lib. II. c. 8.

<sup>t</sup> *Ibid.* c. 11.

<sup>u</sup> *Hist. Unitar.* p. 27.



and do not all heretics the same? Did ever any man condemn himself? Do not even Quakers, Muggletonians, and all, pretend to the scripture? Did not the Devil himself quote scripture against our Saviour?

But why does not your author tell how Eusebius, in the same chapter, proves this their allegation to be wholly false, and without any ground? first from the scripture itself, and next from those who wrote before Victor or Zephyrin, as Justin, Miltiades, Tatianus, and Clemens, Irenæus, Melito, and many more; in all whose books the divinity of Christ is established, that he is both true God and man. And he stands in admiration at the impudence of these Nazarens, who could pretend that this was the general doctrine of the church before Victor and Zephyrin.

He tells us likewise of another practice of theirs, which is of great use to have discovered; that is, that they did boldly adulterate the holy scriptures, and rejected the rule of the primitive faith: and he proves this by a very strong argument, viz. that their copies did not agree among themselves, some of which he there reckons, as that of Asclepiades, Theodotus, Hermophilus, and Apollonius, which last does not agree with itself, for these copies which were written before, differ from those which he wrote afterwards. And Eusebius says that they could not deny this to be done by them, because the copies were written with their own hands, neither did they receive them from those who taught them the Christian faith, nor could they shew the copies out of which they transcribed theirs.

Therefore they plainly owned that they had

mended the scriptures, <sup>x</sup>adding some things, and taking away others, to make them more intelligible: nay, some of them did not only thus adulterate the scriptures, but absolutely rejected the Law and the Prophets: thus Eusebius and Theodoret.

*Soc.* <sup>y</sup>Victor (say the Socinians) began to persecute the apostolic doctrine of one God, or, what is the same, that God is one, in the year 194, <sup>z</sup>but with little success, till that which was afterwards the doctrine of the Arians grew into general credit and acceptance.

*Chr.* Victor excommunicated these heretics, which your author calls a persecution. Victor himself was under persecution of the Roman government, and he had then no civil sword to persecute any other.

*Soc.* My historian says, that Victor's or others' endeavours had little success against these Nazarens, &c.

*Chr.* Witness what you have heard just now out of Theodoret, that they were so buried in oblivion, as that their very names were not known to many; for which he rejoices, and blesseth God.

*Soc.* My author names Justin Martyr and Origen as raising the honour of the Son higher than the plain and simple doctrine of the Nazarens, but yet not so high as the council of Nice, by attributing to the Son *eternity*, &c.

*Chr.* Your author quotes nothing out of these Fathers; he requires us to take his word; but I think I have given you sufficient testimony of the faith of both these Fathers, in our examination of the texts of scripture: and if you would have fur-

<sup>x</sup> Theod. Hær. Fab. lib. II. c. 5.

<sup>y</sup> Hist. Unitar. p. 27.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid. p. 28.

ther satisfaction, I refer you at your leisure to Dr. Bull's *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, printed at Oxford, 1685: there, sect. II. c. 9, you have Origen's doctrine as to the divinity of the Son of God vindicated to be catholic, and plainly agreeable to the Nicene faith; and, sect. III. c. 2, Justin Martyr's doctrine as to the eternity of the Son is explained.

*Soc.* Let us then proceed with our author: he tells us a lamentable story how low they are now brought, that neither the Nazaren faith, nor the Arian, or Nicene, (truly so called,) are openly professed in the territories of Christian princes and states, except in a few obscure towns.

*Chr.* Blessed be God, that the Nazaren and Arian heresies have long been banished Christendom, almost as much as what Theodoret said, that their very names have not till of late been known to many, at least amongst us.

But it is a sad and dismal prospect of our sins that God suffers these tares to appear now again; and this ought to bring us to speedy bethinking ourselves, wherein we have fallen short of our Christian principles, and searching into those provocations, and returning from them, which otherwise may root up our religion, and destroy Christianity among us.

But with what assurance can your author put in the Nicene faith, as banished Christendom, with the Nazaren or Socinian and the Arian faith? Is not the creed of that council of Nice read in the Christian churches?

*Soc.* You except the Socinians, I hope.

*Chr.* They are no church; Providence has not permitted them to come to the very name of a



Christian church; they look like a blot or an objection only in Christianity: the Hist. Unitar. tells us that their faith is nowhere openly professed in the territories of Christian princes and states, except in a few cities of Transylvania, and some in the United Netherlands, which allows of all religions<sup>a</sup> that will advance trade: he says<sup>b</sup> there are many of them in the Turkish, and other Mahometan and pagan dominions. It seems God has banished them from Christendom, only left some, as of the Canaanites, to keep us in exercise, lest we should forget our Christian war.

*Soc.* But though they are so low now, yet they say in ancient times they were much stronger; the Arians were very high once.

*Chr.* Indeed God did suffer them to make great inroads upon Christianity, and to have favour at court, and raise persecutions against the orthodox.

The difference between Arians and Socinians, and a comparison between Socinianism and Mahometanism.

But he still most signally and gloriously preserved the faith, and, after some contests, crowned it with victory over Arius and his heresy to this day.

And besides, the modern Unitarians cannot be called Arians, nor have title even to his antiquity.

The Arians say that Christ was generated before the world<sup>c</sup>; and in process of time became incarnate in our nature.

The Socinians deny that he had any existence before he was born of the blessed Mary.

Again, the Arians say that the Holy Ghost is the creature of the Son, and subservient to him in the work of creation.

And the Socinians say the Holy Spirit is the power and wisdom of God, which is God.

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Unitar. p. 20.

<sup>b</sup> P. 30.

<sup>c</sup> P. 33.



But Mr. Biddle, and those that follow him, take the Holy Spirit to be a person, chief of the heavenly spirits, prime minister of God and Christ.

*Soc.* But notwithstanding these material differences, the historian includes all these under the name of Unitarians, because, says he<sup>d</sup>, they agree in the principal article, that there is but one God, or, but one who is God.

*Chr.* And in this sense we claim the name of Unitarians as much as any. None assert more than we the unity of God's nature, which cannot be more than one; we say that is but one God or one nature which is God. But whether that nature may not admit of several persons is another question, and meddles not with the unity of the nature. But your different sets of Unitarians know not what to make of the divine persons: the Socinians differ from the Arians both as to the Son and the Holy Ghost, and therefore can in no justice derive themselves from them; though if they could, as will be further shewn, it would do them little service. But they neither have unity with Arius nor among themselves, no not as to the object of their worship; they have not the same God, some of them at this day making the Holy Ghost to be God, others to be only a creature; some, that he is a person; others, only as a quality, &c.

*Soc.* But my author says<sup>e</sup> that the Arians and Socinians esteem of one another as Christian brethren and true believers.

*Chr.* It is impossible they should think one another to be true believers, unless all the abovesaid opinions can be true, or that it is not material whe-

<sup>d</sup> Hist. p. 34.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

ther the Holy Ghost be God or a creature; whether Christ had or had not a being with his Father before his incarnation.

And for their being Christian brethren; if it be only the word *Christ* that does it, then all who acknowledge the name of Christ must come in, let their opinions of him be what they will, though some think him God, others only a man.

The Alcoran speaks thus of him: “<sup>f</sup>The Messias, Jesus the son of Mary, is a Prophet and an Apostle of God, his Word, and his Spirit, which he sent to Mary.

“The angels said to Zachary, Thou shalt have a son called John, he shall affirm the Messias to be the Word of God.

“The angels said, O Mary, God declareth unto thee a Word, from which shall proceed the Messias, named Jesus<sup>g</sup>”——or, (as it is in the Latin translation of D. Petrus Abbas Cluniacensis, put out by Theodor. Bibliander<sup>h</sup>,) *O Maria tibi summi nuntii gaudium cum verbo Dei, cujus nomen est Christus Jesus, filius Mariæ, qui est facies omnium gentium, hoc seculoque futuro*——. Here the Alcoran says the name of the Word of God is Christ Jesus, that he is the “face of all nations,” which the annotator observes to be a parallel phrase to *the desire or expectation of the Gentiles*, and other like appellations of Christ; Gen. xlix. and chap. xxii. Isaiah ii. and Zech. iii. Hag. ii. “And he is the face of all nations,” says the Alcoran, “not only in this world, but in the world to come.”

So that if speaking great and honourable things

<sup>f</sup> Transl. Engl. Lond. 1649, c. 4. p. 62. c. 3. p. 33.

<sup>g</sup> P. 34.

<sup>h</sup> Azoara, V. p. 23.

of Christ makes a man a Christian, the Mahometans are as good Christians as the Socinians.

*Soc.* If they did acknowledge the scriptures, it might go a great way.

*Chr.* They do acknowledge them, only they take the liberty, as you do, to interpret them differently from the catholic church. Thus we read in the Alcoran: “<sup>i</sup> O you that have knowledge of the scriptures! believe in the Alcoran, that confirmeth the Old and New Testament.

“<sup>k</sup> He (the Lord) shall say unto Jesus, O Jesus, son of Mary, remember thou my grace towards thee and thy mother; I strengthened thee with the Holy Ghost—thee did I instruct in scripture and knowledge, the Old Testament and the Gospel.” Again, “<sup>l</sup> I will teach him the scripture, the mysteries of the Law, the Old Testament, and the Gospel.” And the common appellation which the Alcoran gives to the Jews and Christians is, “O ye that know the scripture!” And it provokes them to dispute out of the scripture. “O ye that know the scripture, come with words alike—true between you and us; do I worship other than God? Be ye witnesses that we believe in God. O ye that understand scripture! dispute not the law of Abraham, to wit, if he observed the Old Testament or the Gospel; they were taught after him; perhaps you will acknowledge your error. O ye that have disputed what ye know not! Abraham was no Jew nor Christian; he professed the unity of God, he was a true believer, and not of the number of infidels. The people, and particularly

<sup>i</sup> Alcoran, c. 4. p. 51.

<sup>k</sup> Chap. 5. p. 75.

<sup>l</sup> Chap. 3. p. 34, 35.



“ those that followed him of his time, as also the  
 “ prophet Mahomet, and all true believers, have  
 “ known the truth of his law——O ye that know  
 “ the scripture! do not maliciously conceal the com-  
 “ mandments of God——Observe exactly what you  
 “ have learned in scripture, and what you read——  
 “ Remember——that he (God) taught you scripture  
 “ and knowledge<sup>m</sup>, and that after this came a pro-  
 “ phet, that confirmed the doctrine that was taught  
 “ you, that you might believe his words.”

These are the words of the Alcoran: and you see they make no more of Mahomet than a prophet who succeeded Christ, as Christ succeeded Moses: and as Christ confirmed Moses's law, so Mahomet confirms the gospel of Christ; the latter still confirms the former. “ Say to them,” says the same chapter of the Alcoran<sup>n</sup>, “ we believe in God, in what he  
 “ hath inspired into us, in what he inspired into  
 “ Abraham, Ismael, Isaac, Jacob, and the tribes, in  
 “ what was ordained by Moses, by Jesus, and gene-  
 “ rally all the prophets from God——Such as shall  
 “ be impious towards Jesus, having believed the  
 “ books of Moses, and shall augment their impiety  
 “ against Mahomet, shall err eternally.” And there is a great deal more to the same purpose.

*Soc.* At this rate they advance Christ beyond Mahomet.

*Chr.* Only that Mahomet was a later prophet, and so the last messenger from heaven; otherwise they do not speak such things of him as they do of Christ. They acknowledge Christ to be born of a virgin, by the operation of God, in the same terms with the scripture; they say not so of Mahomet,

<sup>m</sup> Alcoran, p. 36.

<sup>n</sup> P. 37.



whom they do not call the Messias, the Word of God, and the Face or Lord of the world to come, as you have heard the Alcoran speak of the Lord Christ.

*Soc.* Wherein then do they differ from the Christian church?

*Chr.* In the same points which the Socinians do; they allow not the Trinity, nor divinity of Christ; and they interpret those texts which speak of the Trinity and Incarnation of the Word as the Socinians do.

° And they acknowledge not the satisfaction of Christ, but they put him into the “number of intercessors with his divine Majesty;” which are exactly the Socinian tenets.

And I would not have you ashamed of it, but accept Mahomet for one of the fathers of Socinianism: he is not half so scandalous nor so heterodox as Ebion and Theodotion, and that string of heretics whom your historian has mustered up for the primitive founders of Socinianism in its purity: some of these used a different gospel from ours, others rejected all our scripture, but some parcel that pleased themselves; they corrupted the scripture, and it being proved upon them under their hands, they called it mending and improving the scripture. Some of them would not allow Christ to be born of a virgin, but that he was begot by Joseph, as other men are; and many other things, which I shall shew you by and by, and which grate the ears even of a Socinian now.

Mahomet is much more Christian than these, and an express Unitarian, but these are not so well

° Alcoran, p. 34.

known in the world now as Mahomet is: therefore you would not own Mahomet to be of your party, lest the people should stone you, for they have all a great aversion to Mahomet. But I assure you that these primitive Anti-Trinitarian heretics were as odious to the Christians then as Mahomet is now: witness St. John quitting the bath where Cerinthus, one of the ringleaders of these, came in, saying, he would not stay in a place where there was one of such Anti-Christian principles, lest a judgment should overtake him for being in such company.

Mahomet succeeded Arius, and set up his doctrine, which is contained in the Alcoran, with some additions: and it is observable, that where Arianism most prevailed, there Mahometism came in, and prospered; that men might read their sin in their punishment, by the progress of their wickedness, and having once departed from the Christian faith, can now find no stop or remedy.

And as Mahomet improved Arianism, so the Socinians have exceeded even the Alcoran in their contempt of Christ, as I have shewed, bringing him lower, and making him more a mere man than the Alcoran does.

XIX.  
The credit  
the Soci-  
nians ex-  
pect by al-  
legingsome  
modern  
Christian  
writers as  
favourers  
of their  
opinion.

*Soc.* I must tell you, that notwithstanding all you have said, we have some of your modern and celebrated Christian writers, who favour our opinion; and our history names three or four of them.

*Chr.* This you urge not, I suppose, as an argument, only that it would gain some credit to your cause. It is well he can name no more: but that you may not lose any advantage, I am willing to hear whom he names.

*Soc.* He names two of the church of Rome, and

two of the reformed, with a fifth, one Sandius, whom he calls the Arian's historian.

*Chr.* The first he names is Erasmus, who lived Erasmus. and died in the communion of the church of Rome. Yet he was not a bigot papist, as he was far from being a thorough protestant: his great wit led him from many errors of Rome. He begun well, but it was left to others to finish.

Yet might he be vindicated in a great measure from what your historian lays upon him; but that is not our present business: neither does what is here alleged prove him to be either Arian or Socinian. For though Phil. ii. 6. be a principal argument of the Fathers against the Arians, and though Erasmus should say (for your author quotes no place where he says it) that this text did not prove against the Arians, yet it is no consequence that therefore no other text does prove it; one man may think that a proof which another does not.

And as to his second proof, from what Erasmus says upon Eph. v. 5, I do not find in him what your author says in that place. Yet, if he said it, viz. that the word *God* used absolutely always signifies the Father, this would not prove him a Socinian; for we grant the word *God* frequently to mean the Father, as I have already told you; but that it does not always so, you may see Col. ii. 2. where the apostle speaks of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ: where the word *God* used absolutely is distinguished from the Father, as from Christ, and this is there called a mystery; which it were not, if it were spoken all of one person, as you would have it: but, on the other hand, where it is not so distinguished, we grant that it always means



the Father, but not in exclusion of the other persons; for the word *God* used absolutely means the divine nature, which includes all the three persons. He next quotes Erasmus's Scholia on the third tome of St. Jerome's Epistles, but he names not which Epistle, that you may not find it without reading him all over. He says Erasmus there denies the Arians to be heretics, and that they were superior to our men in learning and eloquence; to which we must demur, till he quotes the place: but I am sure, if he says the Arians are not heretics, he contradicts himself; for in the second tome of St. Jerome's Epistles, in his argument of the Epistle *adversus Luciferianos*, p. 134. edit. Basil, 1537, he says, that "no heresy did more grievously afflict the church than that of the Arians." And in his Paraphrase upon John ii. 1, no Trinitarian can speak more full and express than he does. He calls Christ, "*Ex Deo vero verus Deus*: Very God of very God. "That he was the eternal Word, with the eternal Father, and that this Word did so come forth from the Father as never to part from the Father. "Neither did he so adhere to his Father as an accident adheres to its substance, but he was God of God, he was God in God, he was God with God, "because of the common nature of both their divinities: these two, who were alike in all things, "nothing did distinguish but the property of the begetter, and the person begotten: and though "this Word was God omnipotent, of the Omnipotent, yet being distinguished by the property of his person, he was with God the Father not in any dissimilitude of nature. Neither was he made or created by the Father; but by this his own



“ Word, coeternal to himself, the Father made all things that he did make, whether visible or invisible; by the same he governs all things, by the same he restores all things, not using him as an instrument or minister, but as a Son of the same nature and same power with himself. So all things, whatever are, came from the Father as the supreme Author, but by the Son, whom he begot from eternity, equal to himself in all things, and without end does beget.” These are the words of Erasmus, and a great deal more in the same and many other places, to the same purpose. And if you will make a Socinian of this man, you need not despair to gain Athanasius too, and prove him to be an Arian, Nazaren, or what you please. And to shew you what opinion Erasmus has of the great ingenuity which your author brags he expresses for the Socinians, upon the same chapter, John i. he says, “ They greatly err from the truth, who think that the Word of God is posterior to him who brings it forth, as among men the mind is before the speech; and who reckon the Word of God, by which God the Father made all things, among the things which were made: *sed crassior est illorum error*——but their error is more gross who suppose that Christ then began to be the Son and Word of God, when he was born of the Virgin Mary.”

Whether this be the opinion of the Socinians, you can tell; and whether calling their error gross, and greatly distant from the truth, be so mighty a compliment as your author would force from this great man to the Socinians.

*Soc.* My author quotes Erasmus, Epist. to Bili-

baldus, wherein he says he could be of the Arian persuasion, if the church approved it.

*Chr.* Your author is very unwilling to be brought to the light, his quotations are all dark, he does not care to have them looked into. In Erasmus's Epistles there are no less than thirty-seven to Bilibaldus; and you may suppose it was too much trouble for your author to name the Epistle; then you would have found it out too soon. That one which he means, I suppose, is the third Epistle of Erasmus's twentieth book of his Epistles; where, speaking his sense of the great authority of the church, he says, "it was by her authority he believed the "canonical scriptures;" and then indeed it is no wonder that he submits every thing else to her authority. And magnifying his deference to the church, he says, "he could agree with the Arians "and Pelagians, if the church had approved what "they have taught." Now the natural consequence of this to me is, that Erasmus thought these the most pestilent and abominable heresies he could think of, for it had been no great matter to submit to any rational or tolerable doctrine; but to shew the vast authority of the church, he sure would name some mighty thing. But why did your historian leave the Pelagians out of this quotation? He would not have them joined with the Arians, for fear of discovering his plot; for he does not pretend to favour the Pelagians, or that Erasmus was a Pelagian; and this quotation would make him as much so as an Arian. But, whatever comes of the integrity, I must commend the ingenuity of your historian.

*Soc.* You are satirical, you know not how to

miss a blot; let us see if you can find the like in his next instance of Grotius, who, he says, is *Socinian all over*. Grotius.

*Chr.* It is *all over*, for he quotes no particular place, but desires that you will take his word, or else be at the pains of reading over all Grotius's works.

*Soc.* I had rather take his word, at this time, for I have not now so much leisure: but yet he names his notes upon John i. 1, and says that his annotations are a complete system of Socinianism <sup>P</sup>.

*Chr.* He has a better perspective than I can see through, for I cannot find any such thing in his annotations, but, I think, the direct contrary.

*Soc.* Indeed my author says "they are written so artificially, and interwove with so many different quotations, that he has covered himself, and his sense of that portion of scripture, from such as do not read him carefully."

*Chr.* I am sure he has covered himself in that place from being so much as suspected of Socinianism; for he interprets John i. 1. *In the beginning*, to be the beginning of all things, and to mean eternity: *Sicut mos est Hebræis æternitatem populariter describere*; "that it was a common and familiar expression among the Hebrews whereby to describe eternity."

This is point-blank destructive of the Socinian principle, which allows Christ no being before he was born of the Virgin; and therefore they are forced to interpret these words, *In the beginning*, to mean only the beginning of the gospel.

Then Grotius does most learnedly tell us the ac-



ception of the term *Logos*, agreeably to what we have already discoursed, viz. that it was first with the Jews, and he supposes it taken first from Gen. i. where God's creating is expressed by *God said, Let there be light; Let there be a firmament, &c.* thence the notion of *the Word* of God. From the Jews the Chaldeans had it, and from them the Greeks: and that it was by this Word that God created all things. He tells you how Philo the Jew calls this Word *the image and Son of God*; how the Jewish cabalists and the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophers had invented many other emanations from God besides his Word or *Logos*.

These emanations they called *Æones*, and reckoned the *Logos* as one of them: and this doctrine the Gnostics followed. And Grotius says that it was expressly against this that St. John wrote, and proves that all the appellations which they gave to their several *Æones*, as *Maker of the world, Only-begotten*, and *Saviour*, did belong only to Christ, who was the *Logos*. And this learned annotator observes that our Saviour is called by these names in St. John's writings, and not in the other holy writers, though they delivered the same thing in effect.

And this account of St. John's using the term of *Logos*, and vindicating it from the other fanciful *Æones*, or emanations, which the heathens, cabalists, and from them the Gnostics, joined with it, and preferred some of them before it, is a confirmation of what I have already said upon that point.

And Grotius says that St. John by these words, *In the beginning was the Word*, rejects the figment of the Gnostics, who said that from the Proarchs,



after many ages, the Nous, or Mind, was born; then, from the Nous, the Monogene, or Only-begotten; and from that the Logos: all which St. John confutes, by rejecting all these but the Logos, making that *from the beginning*, that is, as Grotius explains it, from eternity, and applying to it the term of Monogene, Only-begotten, and all the other epithets of their several Æones, and shewing that they belong only to the Logos.

And here I cannot but take notice how Grotius (upon Matt. xxiv. 11.) joins Cerinthus and Ebion together, as those who perverted Christianity by mixing Judaism with it; not only as tolerating the Jewish rites, (which we know the apostles did at first,) but by acknowledging Judaism to be the only way to salvation, which was preached, as by other prophets, so also by Christ. And he says that St. John wrote much against these, and that these and the like are those whom Christ calls the false prophets; St. Paul, *Men speaking perverse things*, Acts xx. 30. (and these *shall arise of your own selves*, they shall be Christians.) *False apostles, deceitful workers*, 2 Cor. xi. 13. *transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ; by whose opinions the faith of many is over-* 2 Tim. ii. 18. *thrown.*

This is Grotius's judgment of Ebion and the Ebionites, whom our historian has set down as the true Socinians of the first age.

But to see further how good a Socinian Grotius was, upon John i. 14. he says that the "Logos" shewed himself in our human nature, that he "might advance us men to the divine Majesty:" and applies to this 1 Tim. iii. 16. *God was manifest in the flesh*: and what Irenæus says, *Verbum ait*,

*unitum suo plasmati*——“The Word, being united  
“to his own workmanship, was made a passible  
“man.”

Upon these words, *the Word was God*, John i. 1, Grotius tells us plainly how that Word was made synonymous with God, and quotes Justin, calling Christ “the God who was before ages :” and Theophilus, that “the Word is God, and born of God ;” and much more to the same purpose.

But to end this matter, Grotius, having given the reason before told why St. John treats more expressly of the Logos than the other holy writers, says thus : *Cæteri scriptores evangeliorum* ——  
“The other evangelists thought it sufficient to express Christ’s divine nature from his admirable  
“conception, his infinite power in working miracles, his knowledge of other men’s hearts, from  
“those things which happened concerning his death, resurrection, and ascension into heaven ; finally,  
“from the promise of his perpetual presence, of  
“sending the Holy Ghost, forgiving sins, judging mankind. But John, according to the necessity  
“of his times, and in the beginning, would give  
“him the name of God, and the power flowing  
“from the eternal Fountain :” thus Grotius. And how this agrees with the Socinians, who hold that Christ had no being before he was born of the Virgin, I leave you to judge ; and what reason your historian had for his great boast that “<sup>†</sup>Grotius was  
“Socinian all over ; that he has interpreted the  
“whole Bible according to the mind of the Socinians ; and that there is nothing in all his annotations which they do not approve and applaud ;

<sup>†</sup> Hist. Unitar. p. 33.

“ and that his annotations are a complete system  
“ of Socinianism, not excepting his notes on John  
“ i. 2.”

*Soc.* I am sure no Socinian can either approve or applaud what you quoted out of Grotius, especially his notes upon John i. 1. But our author perhaps means that he is only a Socinian as to the Trinity; for as to the incarnation and preexistence of Christ before his birth from the Virgin, I think we have no title to Grotius.

*Chr.* The incarnation and Trinity are closely linked together, so that you cannot suppose the incarnation without first supposing the Trinity; for you cannot say that Christ is God, without more persons than one in God.

But Grotius, *De Verit. Rel. Christ.* lib. V. §. 21, vindicates the doctrine of the Trinity from the objection of polytheism, and shews that it was not unknown to the Jews. He says that “ Philo the  
“ Jew oftentimes makes three to be in God, and  
“ calls the Reason or the Word of God by the name  
“ of God, the Maker of the world, neither unbegotten, as is God the Father of all, nor begotten so  
“ as men are: that the cabalists distinguish God  
“ into three lights, which some of them call by the  
“ same names that Christians do, viz. of the Father,  
“ of the Son, or the Word, and of the Holy Ghost.  
“ And he says that it is confessed by all the Hebrews, that the Spirit by which the prophets were  
“ inspired is not any thing created, and yet it is  
“ distinguished from him that sent it; like as also  
“ that which they commonly call Shechinah. Now  
“ many of the Hebrews have taught that that divine Power which they call *Wisdom* shall dwell in



“ the Messiah ; whence the Chaldee Paraphrase calls “ the Messiah *the Word of God*: and he is called “ by that august name of *God*, and also of *Lord*, “ by David, Isaias, and others :” these are the words of Grotius. And nothing can speak the Trinity more plainly, in contradiction both to the Arians and Socinians. The Spirit not being any created thing is against the Arians and Mr. Biddle’s Socinians, who hold that it is created ; and being distinguished from the sender thereof, does confound all the other parties of the Socinians, who hold that the Spirit of God is not distinguished from the sender thereof. And the Jews distinguish Shechinah from the Spirit, and make the Messiah to be this Shechinah ; for which you may see more authorities in the annotations upon this place in Grotius’s works, printed in London, 1679, tom. III ; and this both proves the Trinity, and that the Messiah is one of the persons.

*Soc.* <sup>r</sup> But what say you to that which my author objects of Grotius attacking the Socinians in his younger years, in a principal article of their doctrine ; but being answered by J. Crellius, he not only never replied, but thanked Crellius for his answer ; and afterwards publishing some annotations on the Bible, he interpreted the whole according to the mind of the Socinians ?

*Chr.* You have had a taste of these annotations, and whether they be wholly according to the mind of the Socinians ; and from hence you may guess at the truth of the other part of his allegation : but if you would have full satisfaction, consult Grotius’s works of that edition I have just now named, and



there, before his Defence of the Catholic Faith as to the satisfaction of Christ against Faustus Socinus, you have his Letter to Ger. Vossius, clearing himself as to this matter of his answer to Crellius, and his faith both as to the Trinity and the satisfaction of Christ, and vindicating himself from the imputation of Socinianism.

It is a strange thing that you will make a Socinian of a man who writes against Socinus by name, and throws it off as an aspersion to be thought to be a Socinian; nay, he not only clears himself, but says of Holland and West Friesland, that “none there did defend Socinus:” *Nemo ibi hactenus inventus est qui Socinum defenderet*; (tom. III. Lond. edit. p. 112.)

*Soc.* Let us go to the next. My author says<sup>s</sup> Petavius, that D. Petavius, the most learned of the Jesuits, has granted that generally the Fathers who lived before the Nicene council, and whose writings are preserved, agree in their doctrine concerning God with the Nazarens or Socinians; and concerning the Son our Lord Christ, and Holy Spirit, with the Arians.

*Chr.* This is a condemnation of the Socinians; for, as before is told, they differ exceedingly from the Arians, both as to Christ and the Holy Ghost: the Arians make the Holy Ghost a creature; the Socinians say that he is nothing different from God, but is God: the Arians are for Christ’s preexistence before he was born of the Virgin; the Socinians say that he had no being before he was born of the Virgin, &c.

And if the Ante-Nicene Fathers were for the

<sup>s</sup> Hist. p. 32.

Arians in these points, then it is a demonstration that they were against the Socinian opinion; so that that stands condemned on all hands.

But your author has quoted no particular Father, only says it in the general; and I have shewn you in Eusebius the names of several of these Fathers, whom he quotes against the like allegation of the Socinians; and I have before shewed you that the tenets of the Ante-Nicene Fathers were fully on our side in the examination of the several texts which prove the Trinity. But your author does not quote the place where Petavius says what he alleges from him; and considering your author's ingenuity in other quotations which I have examined, he may be justly suspected in this: but I do not think it worth the while to search over Petavius's works for it, because I know it is a common topic with the papists to discredit the ancient Fathers, and run all into the authority of what they call *the present church*: and therefore if your author could find a Jesuit saying so, it would be no great argument; for I allow the papists and you to agree in a great many things, even when you seem to be most contrary to one another, as your dear friend Grotius has observed, who makes the like difference betwixt popery and Socinianism as betwixt tyranny and unbridled licentiousness: (*Oper. Grotii*, Londini, 1679. tom. III. p. 112.) this he says in answer to Sibrandus, who observed that "the Socinians had rather take part with the papists than with the reformed."

Episcopius. *Soc.* The next my author quotes<sup>t</sup> for a Socinian is of the reformation; it is Episcopius, who

<sup>t</sup> Hist. p. 34.

is, he says, so much esteemed by the English divines.

*Chr.* And deservedly for a learned man. But now for your proof.

*Soc.* My author quotes the book and chapter in him, *Episcop. Instit. Theol.* lib. IV. c. 32, 33, 34, and he says that Episcopius seems to be Arian.

*Chr.* He is more modest with Episcopius than he was with Grotius by much: Grotius was *all over* and absolutely Socinian; Episcopius only *seems to be*. Then he does not so much as pretend to him as a Socinian, but what he *seems to be* is only Arian: that is, he would have us to lose him, though he cannot gain him to the Socinian party; and if his so positive boasts of Grotius come off as you have seen, we can expect little from his fearful *seems to be* of Episcopius. But, however, let us hear what he says; what does he charge upon Episcopius from these chapters he quotes?

<sup>u</sup> *Soc.* That he said the Father is so first as to be first in order, (i. e. *in time*.)

*Chr.* Let me stop you; does he say that Episcopius said these words (i. e. *in time*)?

*Soc.* I suppose not; for they are in a different letter, and in a parenthesis: but they are in exposition of the preceding words, (*in order*,) because my author supposes that whatever is first in order must be likewise first in time.

*Chr.* You have seen the contrary to that in the relation betwixt Father and Son, and it might be shewn in many other instances. But your author would slip it in, in a short parenthesis, whereby it might pass for Episcopius's, or otherwise being heed-

<sup>u</sup> Hist. Unitar. p. 35.

lessly granted might carry his cause. Therefore, in answer to him, we say, with Episcopus, that the Father is first in order, but not in time. And Episcopus says nothing in this distant from the catholic church.

*Soc.* But he says, that to make three equal persons in God, or in the Godhead, is to make three Gods.

*Chr.* That is, so equal as to have no superiority of relation among them, which we do not say: we say they are equal in their natural perfections; but not so in their natural relations: and in this Episcopus does not differ from the church.

*Soc.* He denies that the Lord Christ is the Son of God by substantial generation from the Father's substance and essence.

*Chr.* He does not deny it; he does indeed find fault with defining the *modus* or manner of it, according to all the extravagant invention of the schools, which he reckons up, c. 33, and they are indeed extravagant and most dangerous, as Episcopus there sets forth; but determines nothing, only that such questions ought not to be started, are not necessary to be believed, because not revealed, and have bred much trouble in the church, whose creeds at first were plainer and shorter than of after-ages. But if the starting of heresies imposed that fatal necessity upon the church, where will the blame lie? It is a great misfortune to be forced to fight at all, but if my life be assaulted, I must choose the lesser evil.

I think it a very great hurt to the church, and a judgment sent from God, that this question we are now upon should be broached among us. But pray



who began? If you throw your books about, and boast of them as unanswerable, and overthrow the faith of many, you force us to enter the lists, though with grief of heart at the occasion of the quarrel, and then you make the very quarrel an argument against us. Why do ye dispute of these things? can you not let them lie in their primitive simplicity? O that you could have done so! Was there ever any creed or canon made but against a heresy that was then in being, and spread before such creed or canon was made? To be under physic is a disconsolate life, but the remedy shews that the disease was first; yet you charge your physician as the cause of your disease! God in his mercy heal the breaches of our Sion, for they are many.

But to return to Episcopius: if it were my task, I could shew abundantly his principles as to the Trinity and incarnation. But I think it sufficient to have answered your historian's objections.

I will only tell you that Episcopius did not only believe the Trinity, but that it was clearly and plainly and most perspicuously revealed in scripture: and he disputes this against Bellarmine, who would have the scripture obscure in this point, that he might bring us to the authority of the church. Episcopius does indeed find fault with the unnecessary school-distinctions, as to the manner or *modus* of these divine mysteries, which is not revealed, and that this has proved an offence and stumblingblock to the Jews and other enemies of Christianity; and all good Christians do join with him in this, and that we should keep as close to the scripture as possible, especially in those mysteries which we had not known but by the scriptures. And he gives for a

reason of this, that the scriptures themselves are sufficiently clear and full as to the Trinity, incarnation, &c. which are expressed in scripture, *non solum perfecte*, “not only perfectly,” *sed etiam dilucide*, “but clearly;” *adeo ut neque ecclesiæ decisione*——“so that we need neither the decision of “the church, the conclusion of doctors, nor the decrees of councils in this matter.” (*Concio secunda de Cons. Incredulit. Judæorum.*) That God is one, is of itself evident in scripture; and, says he, (*Instit. Theol.* lib. IV. c. 18.) that he is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is no less clear from the scripture; and from hence you may judge what sort of Arian this Episcopus was, and what advantage it is to your cause to have named him. Indeed he refuses to tell the manner how these three are one, as not necessary, because not revealed; and we all join with him.

Sandius.

*Soc.* The next he names is C. Sandius.

*Chr.* This is he whom you have already quoted as an Arian. “The Arian opinion,” says our author, (p. 34.) “may be seen on their part in their history” *Chr. Sandius.* And now you bring him into the number of the catholic writers; you wanted one to make up the number: but though he cannot be produced as a catholic, yet if he says any thing material, though an Arian, we may hear him.

*Soc.* My author says that C. Sandius wrote on purpose to prove that all antiquity was Arian<sup>x</sup>.

*Chr.* But does he shew any of his proofs?

*Soc.* No; he only says that Sandius wrote with that design.

*Chr.* Then I will oppose to him Eusebius, and

<sup>x</sup> Hist. p. 35.

the Fathers he quotes, who were before the council of Nice, and were not Arians: but if by all antiquity being Arian, he only means, as in truth he can mean nothing else, that the seeds of the Arian heresy were sown even in the apostles' time, and so were from antiquity, we do readily grant it, and have proved it.

*Soc.* He says, this Sandius, under the borrowed name of Cingallus, wrote a treatise called *Scriptura Trinitatis Revelatrix*; where<sup>y</sup>, under pretence of asserting the Trinity, he has as much (as he could) defeated all the strengths of the catholic cause, and shews that there is no considerable text objected to the Arians or Socinians, but is given up by some or other of the Trinitarians themselves; so that among them they have given away the victory to their adversaries.

*Chr.* This, if true, serves only to shew that your Sandius was a treacherous enemy, betraying under the show of friendship. And for his saying that some Trinitarian or other has given up every text, it makes no more, if granted, (which it is not,) than this, that one text may appear strong to one, and another text may appear more convincing to another: but though I lay aside such a text, and choose rather to insist upon another, it does not follow that I give up such a text because I wave it: yet, after all, I must absolutely deny the assertion, whether it be your author or Sandius makes it, and I put it to the proof, and say that there are many texts, as to the Trinity, which no learned Trinitarian will give up. But I will retort this upon our author, that there is no point of the Uni-

tarian doctrine, as distinguished from the Trinitarian, but what is given up, as I have already shewn, not only by Arians against Socinians, and Socinians against Arians, but by subdivisions of Arians against Arians, and Socinians against Socinians, Biddleites, Anthropomorphites, &c. And all against the Nazarens, Ebionites, and others taken in for the primitive Unitarians, as you call them; and even by these ancients among themselves, hardly two of them agreeing almost in any point wherein they broke off from the church. So that “among them,” to use your author’s words, “they have given away the victory to “their adversaries” with a witness.

As for the advantage he expects from Dr. Burnet’s relation of Van Parr the Dutchman<sup>z</sup>, with which he ends his first Letter, I shall say nothing at this time. I will not anticipate what a living author shall think fit to say in his own defence, lest I mistake his meaning.

Thus you have seen his strength from history, and his success in gaining some men of name to favour his party.

<sup>z</sup> Hist. Unitar. p. 37.



THE  
FIFTH DIALOGUE.

---

*A general view and application of what has been said.*

*Christian.* LET us now, from the several heads upon which we have discoursed, take a general view of the state of the controversy on both sides; and see where the difficulty lies of believing, and the prejudices that detain you or us.

*Socinian.* Our prejudice lies in the seeming contradiction to reason there is in your faith; and we wonder that does not bias you to come to our side.

*Chr.* I will not repeat what has been said upon that head: but then you ought to consider that it must be some very strong and powerful evidence that sways us against that bias of seeming reason; for every man would make his faith as easy to him as he could; no man loves difficulty; but in some cases it cannot be avoided, and the greatest matters are not to be attained without it.

This evidence is the holy scriptures, as understood and generally received in those ages wherein they were wrote, and the same sense deduced and carried down to us through all the following ages to this day.

And your prejudice against receiving these scriptures in the same sense, is the seeming contradiction

you fancy there is in reason against the Christian doctrine, of which we have discoursed.

1.  
The word *God* in holy scripture is taken most commonly in a complex sense, as including all the three persons; and sometimes it is taken personally for the Father.

But I would say a word more concerning a prejudice you have taken up, as if the word *God* in holy scripture was always meant of the Father only; and so you apply whatever you find said of God, as belonging only to the Father, and urge such texts to infer the exclusion of the other persons, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

Now I grant that the word *God* is often in holy scripture used to mean the Father particularly, or in a personal sense, he being the fountain (as I may say) of the Deity, whence the other persons do proceed: but most commonly it is taken in a complex sense, to express the Deity or divine nature, wherein all the persons are included: so that God is three persons, and the three persons are God. And thus we find it expressed in scripture, viz. the three persons without the name of God at all; to take away the cavil about that word, and to shew that as God is a proper word to express the whole Trinity, or any of the persons, so the Trinity may be expressed without the word *God* at all. We find the three persons named where God is certainly meant; and yet the word *God* not there, nor any discrimination or exception of any of the persons: and what God has put together, how can we take asunder? God is expressed by three persons; and shall we take upon us to except any of the persons? or shall we say that one of these persons is God, and that the other are creatures? Shall we say this, though the scripture says no such thing? or shall we say that creatures are part of the description of God? We may as well say that they are part of God.

When Christ commissioned his disciples to baptize in the name of God, he does not use the word *God*, but expresses and describes him thus, *Go and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Again, *there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost.* Matt. xxviii. 19.  
1 John v. 7.

If you will make the two other persons to be creatures, (as one party of the Socinians do,) then you join creatures into the description of God, and baptize men in the faith and worship of creatures, (as Mr. Biddle in his Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity, above quoted, does expressly own,) and set up a Trinity which consists of God and two creatures, the first person God, the second and third persons were creatures. And it will in noways solve the horrid blasphemy, to say that these two are very excellent creatures; for the distance betwixt God and the most excellent creature that is or can be is infinite; and the blasphemy the same to join one creature as another into a Trinity with God, and to baptize men into the faith and worship of creatures jointly with God.

And this Trinity, in Mr. Biddle's Confession of Faith, which he asserts by the express name of *the holy Trinity*, must be more abhorrent than the Christian Trinity to the other set of Socinians, who own what we call the second and third persons to be nothing different, but the selfsame thing with the first person; because so the Christians join nothing with God, nor adore any thing but God in the holy Trinity: and suppose the Christians should be mistaken in their notion or explanation of the Trinity, they still avoid the blasphemous idolatry of

joining creatures with God, or sharing his honour to them; which (by virtue of the distinction of *Latria* and *Dulia*, of a supreme and inferior divine worship) was the only foundation and excuse of the Pagan, Arian, and Roman idolatry; and excuses all alike.

But now in the sense of those Socinians who make the Word and the Spirit to be only qualities, then you give this excellent sense of these texts; viz. *there are three in heaven*: first, the Father; the second, his Power or Wisdom; and the third, his Power or Wisdom. Which is not only to make a man and his spirit to be two, without being two persons; but to make his spirit to be a second and a third thing from itself: for, as we have said before, this scheme makes God's Word and Spirit to be the same thing, to mean no more than his power or wisdom, which are not distinct from him.

Thus you have God commanding to baptize in the name of himself, and of himself, and of himself.

And whosoever shall blaspheme against himself shall be forgiven; but he that blasphemeth against himself shall not be forgiven.

Our author says<sup>a</sup>, we are out in counting when we say three persons and one God, which he, in his courtly way, calls brutal in us.

2.  
The Socinians hold a Trinity more unaccountable than what is held by Christians.

I would desire to know by what rule of arithmetic he reckons one God into three, without distinction of persons; for this is a trinity; but whether it be more rational than our trinity, do you judge. We both hold three in heaven, Father, Son,

<sup>a</sup> Hist. p. 25.



and Holy Ghost: this is a trinity; herein we agree, but in the account we give of it we differ mightily.

We say there are three in heaven, really distinct from one another; and therefore reckon them three, though they agree in the same nature; which he makes the difficulty: but, at the same time, he says there are three in heaven; which three are not distinguished at all from one another; but are only one in every respect. We say they are three in one respect, that is, in respect of their three persons; and in another respect are one, that is, in respect of their nature, which is but one. On the other hand, the Socinians say they are one, and yet reckon them three in the selfsame respect; i. e. in respect of their nature, without any difference of persons. We say one is three, by being distinguished into three: they say one is three, without being distinguished at all: which of these is the best reckoning and best reason is left to the reader's judgment.

And every scripture bears the same argument where these three are reckoned; of which there are multitudes of texts that we have not quoted: it is in the preface and salutation of almost every Epistle; with St. Paul frequently, some of which we have remembered: and thus St. Peter begins, <sup>1</sup> Pet. i. 2. *To the elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.*

And our author gives a very fair confession against himself as to all his interpretations: for after he has done with the scripture texts, he owns ingeniously, p. 158, that “they differ from the

<sup>3.</sup> The Socinians own their interpretations to be contrary to the church.

“ church in translating several, and in interpreting  
“ all the before-cited texts.”

*Soc.* I do remember this; and it has much offended me that we should confess out of our own mouths that we take a way of our own, contrary to the church of Christ.

*Chr.* Sure he must give some very extraordinary reason for this; nothing less than express revelation, or demonstration itself, can support a man in a war against the whole Christian church.

*Soc.* He repeats the old difficulty of three being one, and thence concludes that “ their interpretations and translations ought to be admitted, and “ those of the church and Trinitarians rejected.”

*Chr.* And you have seen him run himself into greater absurdities than these he pretends to avoid.

4.  
Pretended  
obscurity  
in scripture  
not the  
cause.

And this brings us just where we began, which was, that the Socinians would admit of the translations and interpretations of scripture, which the church recommends, and would own the Trinity to be sufficiently revealed in scripture, if it did not appear to them to be contrary to their own reason, if there were not difficulties in it which they cannot solve. And therefore it is not any absurdity in the scripture which hinders them to believe; for while they go upon this argument, if the revelation were never so express, they would never submit to it, but screw and gloss while words would bear it; of which we have seen very fair examples: and he declares in express terms, that “ <sup>b</sup> whatever doctrine appears “ absurd and contradictory ought to be rejected, “ how agreeable soever it may seem to the mere

“chime and jingle of the words of some few texts,” as he reverently expresses it.

*Soc.* He gives two parallel instances; one, of the <sup>c</sup>Anthropomorphites, and Mr. Biddle, that God has human parts and passions; “which we reject,” says he, “because it is against reason, though many texts “speak of God after this manner.”

*Chr.* There was a necessity to speak of God after this manner, because otherwise we should not understand him; for we can apprehend nothing but after the manner of men. But the reason was quite contrary why God should speak of himself as three-one: you will not say that this was to condescend to our capacities; and therefore if this had not been a necessary truth, God would not, as I may so say, have troubled our understandings with it, seeing there was no other necessity in the whole world for revealing it to us.

5.  
The rule of interpretation in case of the Anthropomorphites will not serve in case of the Trinity.

Secondly, These expressions, to be delivered into the *hands* of God, to be hid under his *wings*, &c. are common and known figures of speech, nor are taken literally, even when applied to men. If I should say, I will hide you under my wings, nobody would understand it as if I had real wings and feathers, but only that I would protect you and keep you safe, as birds do their brood under their wings.

But *the Word was God*, and *there are three in heaven*, have no relation to these sort of expressions.

Thirdly, Other scriptures tell us that *God is a spirit*, invisible, impassible, &c. and therefore where

<sup>c</sup> Hist. p. 159.



he is spoke of after the manner of body, we must understand it figuratively.

But there are no scriptures which say that God is not *triune*; and therefore those which say he is so, must stand in their plain literal sense, and are not parallel to these scriptures which speak of God after the manner of body.

Fourthly, The scriptures alleged by the Anthropomorphites are plainly figurative, as has been said, even when applied to men. But the scriptures which are brought for proof of the Trinity are not so much as pretended to be taken in any figurative sense; as, *the Word was God—baptizing in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—he that sins against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven—there are three that bear record in heaven, &c.*

The Socinians do not pretend to escape these texts by making them figurative, for there is no figure in them, they take other ways to answer them, which we have seen; therefore this instance of the Anthropomorphites is not parallel to that of the Trinity.

Let me here take notice that Mr. Biddle, whom our author quotes here as an Anthropomorphite, is notwithstanding owned by him, and other the Socinians, as a brother Socinian, and a great rabbi of theirs, whose works they have reprinted, with his life prefixed, making him both a saint and a martyr for their religion.

Concerning whom I only now observe, how tender men are to the mistakes of their own party. Mr. Biddle and his followers are owned as Socinians, as very good Unitarians, though they will take the figurative expressions which speak of God after the manner of body in a literal sense; that is only a



small mistake in them ; it is nothing but the old heresy of the Anthropomorphites, and destroys the first notion of a God, to make him a body, and matter ; which makes it impossible for him to be God : all this shall be pardonable in a Socinian !

But, on the other hand, when we take these texts of the Trinity literally, which the Socinians themselves confess cannot be taken figuratively, this is brutal in us, as our author civilly treats us.

To digest Anthropomorphism, and boggle at the Trinity, is straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel ; it is a perspicuity of reason worthy a Socinian ! But go on with your author.

*Soc.* He gives another parallel : “ What can be “ more express,” says he, “ than *this is my body* ? “ Yet we reject the doctrine of transubstantiation, “ because it is contradictory and impossible that the “ same body should at the same time be in more “ places than one<sup>d</sup>.”

*Chr.* Here he plays both the Socinian and the Jesuit : he implies, that we think transubstantiation is contained in these words, *This is my body*, and that most expressly : “ What can be more express ? ” says he ; and that though it be so expressly contained in these words, yet that we reject it only because it seems contradictory, &c. Herein he insinuates two manifest falsehoods ; first, that we think transubstantiation is expressly contained in these words, *This is my body* : whereas we say that it is so far from being expressly contained in these words, that it is not contained in them at all.

6.  
Nor in the  
case of  
transub-  
stantiation.

The Lutherans take these words as literally as

<sup>d</sup> Hist. p. 160.

the papists, and yet our author cannot but have heard that they utterly reject transubstantiation.

This mistake of his occasions a second, which is, that the reason of our rejecting transubstantiation is the seeming impossibility of one body being in two places at once.

This indeed is a great objection ; and God never commanded any thing contradictory to human sense. But this is not our chief reason ; our chief reason against transubstantiation is, that it is not revealed in scripture ; but that it is against many express revelations of scripture ; for example, 1 Cor. xi. 27. Matt. xxvi. 20. 1 Cor. x. 17. As for these words, *This is my body*, we say transubstantiation cannot be inferred from them ; and we put the issue upon this.

*Soc.* You say that God never commanded any thing contradictory to human sense : we do often insist upon the parallel betwixt transubstantiation and the Trinity, and say that the Trinity is as contradictory as that, or more.

*Chr.* I know you do ; and it is a commonplace of the papists too ; but as much without ground as any thing ever either of you said ; because transubstantiation is wholly against sense, and the Trinity is not at all ; as I have already shewed.

*Soc.* But let me repeat : is not the Trinity against sense at all ?

*Chr.* No. Tell which of the senses it is against. Is it against your seeing, or taste, or smell ?

*Soc.* I cannot say it is against them ; but our senses could not have found it out.

*Chr.* Who ever said they could ? Every spirit is without the reach of our outward senses ; but that

is the reason why a spirit is not against our senses, or contradictory to them.

But transubstantiation is flatly against them all.

And I do insist upon it, that God never required any man to believe any thing that did contradict any of his outward senses.

So very poor is your parallel betwixt the Trinity and transubstantiation.

Again; we have seen parallels in nature as to the Trinity, but there is none as to transubstantiation. Can you tell us any other case where accidents appear without inherance in a substance proper for such accidents? Nothing like it was ever heard of, to lead us to any possible idea of it.

*Soc.* We reject both, because we will have no mystery in our religion; and all the sacraments, their operation and their effects, what they typify and what they exhibit, is in the modestest explanation very mysterious: I mean your way of explaining them; for we make them as familiar and plain as the highway.

7.  
Concerning  
mysteries.

*Chr.* You do so indeed; till they deserve the name of sacraments no more than what you have named; and so you do with all the rest of religion: but you have ill luck at it; for while you endeavour to make it so very plain, to avoid all mystery, you have entangled it to the degree of contradiction itself, and forcing words out of all the meaning that ever mankind put upon them, of which we have seen liberal instances: you have advanced idolatry beyond the notion even of heathens, while you own a person not to be God, and yet pay him divine worship: this takes in the most ancient, honourable, and greatest part of the Unitarians. Then to make God



a body, with your Biddleit-Unitarians, to revive the most noisome of the ancient heresies, and most nonsensical, the Anthropomorphites, and countenancing the idolatry of making pictures of the invisible God, which, if God be a body of the shape of a man, with hands, feet, eyes, &c. can be no great fault; and all this to make the scripture plain, and to shun all mystery in our religion!

*Soc.* But how do you answer our arguments? <sup>e</sup>How can any thing that is revealed be a mystery? It was a mystery or secret before the revelation of it; but since it was revealed, it ceases to be a mystery or secret; unless a secret discovered be a secret still.

*Chr.* That is to say, so far as it is discovered it is no secret; which is, that no secret is no secret. But pray may not a thing be discovered in such obscure terms, that though I understand something of it, yet I cannot clearly apprehend it all? and so I may have many searchings and reasonings to know further of it, and to understand the revelation of it more perfectly. Do you pretend to know all the book of the Revelations? is it not therefore revealed? and is there therefore no mystery in it? I suppose you do not deny but our Saviour was revealed, Gen. iii. 15, where it was told that *the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head*: and in several other places of the Old Testament, wherein he was prophesied of in very express terms. But you confess this to have been a mystery, till the further revelation of it in the gospel: upon which I desire you to answer your own question; how it was a mystery after it was revealed in the Old Testament, "unless

<sup>e</sup> Def. Hist. c. 9. p. 49.



“ a secret discovered be a secret still ?” But, lastly, is not heaven plainly revealed to us in the gospel ? Is there no mystery remaining in it ? *We now see* <sup>1 Cor. xiii. 12.</sup> *through a glass, darkly*, says St. Paul ; *but then face to face*. And to see darkly is a true description of mystery. I know an ingenious Socinian may call this an absurdity, and say, how can you see darkly ? for so far as you see, it is not dark : and I will not take pains to answer it.

# THE

## SIXTH DIALOGUE.

---

*Of the satisfaction made by Christ for our sins.*

*Christian.* THERE is one great point yet behind, which is built upon the doctrine of the Trinity, the divinity and incarnation of Christ; and that is, *the doctrine of satisfaction*, of which your author likewise speaks: and this work will not be complete without considering that main foundation of the Christian religion.

*Socinian.* Let us then go on with our author: he says, whereas, besides the above-cited texts, the orthodox object, that if Christ were not God as well as man, he could not satisfy the justice of God for our sins, or be a full atonement for them. The Socinians answer, first, that Christ is a propitiation and atonement for sin is a demonstration that he is not God; for God doth not give or make, but receive satisfaction for our sins.

*Chr.* God gave his Son to be a propitiation for sin, and received from him satisfaction for our sins; and this proves him to be both God and man: *God*, because none else could pay infinite satisfaction for infinite goodness offended; and *man*, because that which offended must make the satisfaction; but human nature could not make this satisfaction, *in that it was weak through the flesh; therefore*, says

1.  
Objection  
of God, by  
this, hav-  
ing made  
the satis-  
faction to  
himself.

Rom. viii. 3.

St. Paul, *God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, or by a sacrifice for sin, (as our margent reads it,) condemned sin in the flesh.*

*Soc.* If God gave or sent his Son, then it was God who paid the ransom to himself.

*Chr.* In that sense, no doubt, he did, as the apostle speaks, *God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself:* it was God who found out and afforded us this admirable means. 2 Cor. v. 19.

He exalted the manhood into God, united human nature into one person with the divine nature, whereby man might become worthy to expiate for his offence.

And, to compare this with cases which are familiar among ourselves, nothing is more common than for a man to endeavour to enable his debtor to make satisfaction for his debt, by adding to his stock, putting him into the method of gain, obtaining for him offices, preferments, &c. And, in this case, when a debtor has recovered himself by the kindness and munificence of his creditor, and when he has with thankfulness paid his debt, nobody objects it as an absurdity that by this method the creditor has paid himself: it is so far true, that if it had not been for the creditor's goodness and his management, his debtor would never have been able to have paid him; and in this sense he may be said to have satisfied himself, because the satisfaction given himself moved from himself, and was carried on upon his stock; but, because it was paid by the debtor, being thus enriched, it is not strictly called satisfying himself.

And thus it was that man paid his debt to God.

though he was wholly enabled to it by God, and without God could never have done it.

All his sufficiency is of God: and after this manner it is that men are said to bestow upon God, and that God accepts it as such, and rewards them for it. You know the freewill offerings in the law, and the contribution for building the temple, are called their offering willingly to God: though David acknowledges to God, that all this store that we have prepared *cometh of thine hand, and is all thine own*, yet this hinders not what David there says, that he had offered them *of his proper goods*; and at the same time confesses to God, *of thine own have we given thee*.

<sup>1</sup> Chron.  
xxix. 6, 16.

Ver. 3.

Ver. 14.

And now be judge yourself, whether my giving or bestowing does not argue that I have less dependence upon the person who receives a boon from me, than I have upon my creditor to whom I am bound to pay my debt?

Yet you can well enough digest our giving to God, who gives us all, and at the same time cry out upon our paying any thing to God as an absurdity, though he requires it from us, and calls it a debt upon us.

But take another reason. It was God the Son who was incarnate, and paid the satisfaction to his Father. Here it is one person making satisfaction to another person; and so your objection is wholly over.

By this you see how necessary the doctrine of the Trinity is to the satisfaction of Christ: Christ himself did sanctify his human nature; *for their sakes I sanctify myself*; and then offered it up as an acceptable and sufficiently worthy sacrifice to his

John xvii.  
19.



Father. He raised from death his human nature, freed it from prison, as having discharged our debt; and *by his own power* he took his life again, as of <sup>John x. 18.</sup> himself he had laid it down: <sup>a</sup>thus in all things, *out of his own stock*, he paid our whole debt to his Father.

Soc. The Socinians answer, secondly, they wonder that Christ, though a man only, should not be judged a sufficient satisfaction and propitiation for sin, when the sacrifice of beasts, under the law, was accepted as a full atonement and satisfaction, *in order to forgiveness*. Lev. vi. 6.

Chr. I wonder much more that they should be so wilfully blind as not to see that the legal sacrifices were not accepted *for their own worthiness*, but only as types of the sacrifice of Christ, which only is sufficient to make atonement and satisfaction to the justice of God for us. And St. Paul gives this for the reason why there was a necessity of Christ's sacrifice *in order to forgiveness*: *for*, says he, *it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins*, Heb. x. 4.

Soc. This is all our author says as to this point; but I would gladly ask why there was a necessity to make satisfaction to the justice of God? It is not called injustice in me, if I forgive a debt without any satisfaction.

Chr. What is it called then? Is it called justice?

Soc. No; it cannot be called justice; for justice would exact to the uttermost farthing: it is called mercy; to forgive is mercy, and not justice.

Chr. Right; and in men there is a mixture of both; and sometimes we exert our justice, and some-

times our mercy : we have our proportions of each : and in some men their justice is greater than their mercy ; and in others their mercy does exceed their justice.

But in God it is not so ; he is both to the utmost, that is, infinitely. His justice must not take any thing from his mercy, nor his mercy from his justice, every one of his attributes must be full and complete, and entire in itself.

Therefore God is not only just, that is, has some justice in him, or a certain measure of justice ; but he is justice itself ; justice in the abstract : and whatever agrees to justice, to the nature of justice, that must be in God.

Does justice require full satisfaction ?

*Soc.* Yes ; that is the nature of justice.

*Chr.* Then God must require it ; for he is justice.

*Soc.* Where then is his mercy ? If he be all justice, there is no room for mercy.

*Chr.* He shews his mercy in finding that full satisfaction for us ; which is Christ, whom he gave and sent to us : and this satisfaction being infinite, consequently his mercy is infinite ; and so all his attributes stand in their full extent, and the one is not crippled to ease another : his mercy is not exalted by the lessening of his justice, but in the fulfilling of it ; his justice is exalted by his finding an infinite satisfaction for sin ; and his mercy is exalted in that his justice could take no less a satisfaction, which brought his mercy to a necessity of finding such a satisfaction, if it would save man. Thus his attributes exalt and magnify one another, but they do not cramp nor encroach upon one another : there is harmony, not a struggle, betwixt the attributes of

God; and what seems to be a difference between them unites them the more strongly. *One deep calleth another*: the abyss of his justice calls upon the abyss of his mercy; his justice requires satisfaction, his wisdom finds it, and his mercy bestows it: here are the three persons of the Trinity before described, viz. Power, Wisdom, Love. And let me observe to you, that as the will acts from the last dictate of the understanding, and the holy Spirit of Love proceeds from the Wisdom, which is the second person of the blessed Trinity, as before has been explained; so, in the present disquisition we are upon—the satisfaction due to the justice of God for our sins—his love or mercy does act, not arbitrarily, i. e. without reason, but according to the strict rules of his wisdom and justice, with which his goodness and mercy must keep even pace; otherwise there must be a fraction and division in God, that is, among his attributes, and one get the better of another. But according to the doctrine of satisfaction, they recommend and glorify each another; they all concur to the same end, though in different manners, though they seem to be opposite, to go against one another, which they often do among men; for want of wisdom to find out a method to satisfy both justice and mercy; and therefore one is forced to yield to the other; one to oppose, to be against the other; but in God they are all one.

*Soc.* St. James says, *mercy rejoiceth against judgment*, ch. ii. 13. Jam. ii. 13. explained.

*Chr.* That may be said in compliance with our manner of apprehension, which, as has been observed, is often used in scripture; and in our forgivenesses *mercy rejoiceth against judgment*: we



cannot reconcile them, therefore this was spoke *ad captum*.

But, secondly, our margent reads it *glorieth*; and the vulgar has it, *misericordia superexaltat iudicium*, *mercy exalts justice*, or as the Greek will bear it, *mercy glorieth of justice*.

And this appears plain from the part of this verse which goes before; for these words are deduced as a consequence from an instance of justice, and even of justice *without mercy*; for he shall have judgment without mercy that hath shewed no mercy, and mercy glorieth of judgment.

But if you mean that *mercy glorieth against justice*, by way of getting the better of justice, of taking off from the satisfaction which justice would require; how is that done in executing judgment without mercy, which this text speaks of?

But if you mean that this severe and exact justice does recommend mercy to us so much the more; then the force of the argument appears plain, because this justice was threatened to those *who had shewn no mercy*. So that this justice recommends or exalts mercy to us: and mercy here glorieth of judgment, of this justice done to those who have no mercy.

To glory or boast of a thing shews that we have a kindness for it, that we are pleased with it, or, as the common saying is, proud of it; and this supposes a concern for it, and not an enmity against it: and thus it is that the mercy of God glorieth of his justice; but by no means against it, in this sense, as if his mercy does thwart his justice in the redemption of man by Christ Jesus. But, as the apostle

Rom. iii. 26. speaks, *his righteousness* (or *justice*, δικαιοσύνη) *was*



*declared, in his being just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus.* Mercy satisfying justice, exalts justice, and, in that sense, may be said to glory even against it, viz. that the debtor is not ruined by justice, which justice does not require, so full satisfaction be made otherwise; but it is not so, if mercy will save the debtor without satisfying of justice; for then justice must be restrained and curtailed, and driven from its right, forced to be satisfied, without satisfaction given to it: and mercy glorying, or rejoicing against justice, in this sense, is being an enemy to justice, contesting against its right, and overcoming it: and this cannot be betwixt the attributes of God, without supposing God to be at enmity, and contradictory to himself.

But pray tell me, since you will not have Christ a satisfaction or propitiation for your sin, what is it that you make of him?

*Soc.* We think he is our Mediator and Intercessor; and that it is for his sake that God forgives our sins, and gives us heaven.

4.  
Of Christ  
as Mediator  
only.

*Chr.* And you think this more rational than that God should need any satisfaction to his justice: but now, upon the point of reason, does God need any to mediate or intercede? Does not he know and consider whatever any body else can suggest to him? *For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?* Rom. xi. 34.

*Soc.* That is true: but if God please to ordain a Mediator—

*Chr.* And if he please to ordain a satisfaction; why do you reject this as being against reason; and yet set up a mediation which you confess has as little reason?

5.  
Reasons the  
Socinians  
give for the  
death of  
Christ.

But how do you solve the justice of Christ's death, who can find no use in the world for his death? For he might mediate and intercede without dying.

To confirm  
his doc-  
trine.

*Soc.* He died to confirm the truth of his doctrine.

*Chr.* Many men have died for an error. Dying proves no more than that a man is strongly persuaded of the truth of what he says.

In hatred  
to sin.

*Soc.* God took Christ's life, to shew God's hatred to sin.

*Chr.* This proves flatly against you, for Christ had no sin of his own; and therefore it must be that he took our sin upon him, and suffered for it; which you will not allow.

6.  
Christ con-  
sidered in  
his types.

But let us leave our own reasonings and guessing, they are very fallible, and let us come to matter of fact, and see what God has done, not what we may fancy proper for him to do.

The strongest argument to persuade you in this great point of the propitiation of Christ is, to view him in his types of the Old Testament: and these will give you the easy sense of those texts of the New Testament which speak of him as fulfilling those types of his.

Matt. v. 18.

Himself tells you, that *one iota of the law cannot pass till all be fulfilled.*

Heb. xiii.  
11, 12.

And St. Paul is so exact in the parallel betwixt him and his types, that he gives this for the reason of that seeming small circumstance in the sufferings of Christ, which otherwise, I suppose, nobody had observed, and that was, that he suffered *without the gate of the city.* But the apostle tells us that this was ordered by Providence, on purpose that he might fulfil his type of the sin-offering, or expiatory

sacrifice, whose body was to be *burnt without the camp*.

And it is notorious that these sacrifices were ex-<sup>Lev. xvi. 21.</sup>piatory or propitiatory for atonement and satisfaction for sin; that they were to suffer in our stead, and for us: our sins were confessed over the scape-goat, and put upon his head, and he was to bear upon him all our iniquities: this was another type of Christ, which he was to fulfil to the least tittle.

This was more than bare interceding: nay, we are plainly told that there *is no remission without* <sup>Heb. ix. 22. Gen. ii. 17.</sup> *shedding of blood*; there must be death: death was threatened to sin before it was born; and this must be made good; and this did consecrate or devote our life to God; that is, lay it under the curse of God's indignation or justice, and for its sake the blood, (its vehicle,) which therefore was forbidden to be eaten; it was not ours, it was forfeited to God by our sin; it was a debt due, and must be paid. This blood thus forfeited to God he gave to us again, not to eat, or to our own common use, but to a new use, to be a type of the blood of Christ, which only has virtue to make atonement for our sin; and in its virtue only, its type, the blood of the legal sacrifices was said to make atonement for our souls.

*The life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have* <sup>Lev. xvii. 11.</sup> *given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.*

Here we are told what it is that maketh the atonement, not the naked intercession, or mediation, no, nor merit of the sacrifice; *for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul*. There must



be payment; another man's riches will not satisfy for my debt, unless he pay the debt for me. Thus Christ's merit or riches had not satisfied without his death; it was his merit made his death to be satisfactory, which otherwise it had not been for sin; but his actual dying was the actual payment of the debt: and hence it is that our redemption is attributed to the death of Christ, his blood, the sacrifice of his life for us.

Do not mistake me, as if this took away his mediation and intercession; no, it was this which rendered them effectual.

Be pleased to consider with me some of the texts which attribute our redemption to Christ's death.

7.  
Our redemption  
is by the  
death of  
Christ.  
Matt. xx.  
28. xxvi.  
28.  
John vi. 53.  
Rom. iii. 25.  
iv. 25. v. 10,  
11.

2 Cor. v.  
15, 21.

Gal. i. 4.  
iii. 15.

Ephes. i. 7.

Col. i. 20.

Heb. ix. 12.

x. 19.

ix. 14, 15.

*He came to give his life a ransom for many—My blood is shed for the remission of sins—Except ye eat his flesh, and drink his blood, ye have no life—Whom God has set forth as a propitiation through faith in his blood—He was delivered for our offences—Reconciled to God by the death of his Son—by whom we have received the atonement—He died for all—God made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him—He gave himself for our sins—He hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us—We have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins—having made peace through the blood of his cross—Not by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us—Having therefore boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus—The blood of Christ—shall purge your conscience—And for this cause he is*



*the mediator of the new testament, that by means of death, for the redemption of transgressions—we might receive the eternal inheritance—He by himself purged our sins—His own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree—by whose stripes ye were healed—The blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin—He is the propitiation for our sins—God sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins—Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures.*

Heb. i. 3.

1 Pet. ii. 24.

1 John i. 7.

ii. 2.  
iv. 10.

1 Cor. xv. 3.

*Soc.* What scriptures does the apostle there mean?

*Chr.* All of the Old Testament which relate to the sufferings of Christ; all the sacrifices and institutions of the law which are applied to Christ; particularly of that remarkable chapter the fifty-third of Isaiah; where it is said, that he was *wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed—The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all—and made his soul an offering for sin—He shall see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied—Because he hath poured out his soul unto death—and he bare the sin of many.*

And there you have the express word *satisfied*, that Christ's sufferings were a satisfaction to God for our sins.

And again, *Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us.* Here you have the very word *sacrifice*, though the former quotations did in effect prove the same: and every one knows that the sacrifices were appointed to suffer in lieu, or in the stead of the person offending.

8.  
God's cove-  
nant with  
Christ not  
arbitrary.

*Soc.* But all this may be solved on the account of God's covenant, to send Christ to die for us, redeem us with his blood, &c.

And this is an easier way than to talk of satisfying God's justice.

*Chr.* God tells us that he is satisfied and appeased by the sufferings of Christ.

*Soc.* That is still on account of his covenant; because that was his covenant, that he would be satisfied by the sufferings of Christ.

*Chr.* God makes not covenants by chance, or at a venture; his covenant was declaratory, and in pursuance of his own inherent rectitude in justice and mercy.

In your scheme there was no more reason for God's sending Christ, than if he had covenanted to pardon man upon turning of a straw, or the most insignificant action in the world.

*Soc.* Yes, Christ was more an example of good life than a straw, or any other man could be, and had several other endowments useful to us.

*Chr.* But as to the point of appeasing God's wrath toward us, that you make only upon the account of the covenant, and so, in that respect, the straw might have done as well.

*Soc.* And if God had appointed it, so it might; for the covenant of God is arbitrary, and he cannot appoint insufficient means, because his appointing it makes the means sufficient; the natural efficacy of the means is not considered at all.

*Chr.* Then indeed the straw would have done as well: but St. Paul was of another opinion; for he argued that the old law could not stand because of the weakness of the means: *For it is not possible,*

says he, *that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins.*

*Soc.* That is, because God did not appoint them for that end.

*Chr.* You quoted just now Lev. vi. 6, to prove that God did appoint them for that end, and accepted them as full atonement and satisfaction in order to forgiveness, and that he might do so as well as accept the sacrifice of Christ: but if it was possible for God to have appointed them for that end, then St. Paul argued wrong; which must be, or else you must be in the wrong.

*Soc.* Did God ever appoint means which were not sufficient for the end for which he ordained them?

*Chr.* No, sure; because God will not appoint such means.

Therefore St. Paul argued from the insufficiency of the means of the old covenant, that *in order to forgiveness there must be a new covenant upon better and more sufficient means than those which were in the old covenant.* Which in your scheme had been absolute nonsense, and blasphemy against God, calling his means insufficient; nay, that it was not possible to make them sufficient, for St. Paul infers the necessity of Christ's blood being shed in order to forgiveness, because *it was not possible the blood of bulls and goats could take away sin.*

*Soc.* Was it not possible, if God had appointed it?

*Chr.* It was not possible God should appoint it, because it was not a sufficient means for remission of sin: therefore the apostle infers, that if God designed remission of sin, he must appoint other means,



and make another covenant; and that there was need and necessity for this: *For, says he, if perfection were by the Levitical priesthood, what need was there for another Priest, and after another order?—And there is a disannulling of the commandment going before for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof—For if that first covenant had been faultless, then should no place have been sought for the second—It was therefore necessary that the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these—*

Heb. vii. 11. *And it is of necessity that Christ offers: because the legal priests, his types, did offer.*

So that you see God did not make new covenants for covenant sake; and that if bare covenant would have done, one covenant was as good as another: but that the covenant had regard to the means and to the end: and the covenant of the law could not do it; it was impossible, ἀδύνατον, Rom. viii. 3, *in that it was weak*; therefore *God sent his Son, &c.*

Gal. iii. 21. *If there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness had been by the law.* But, says the apostle, (Heb. x. 1, 2.) *the law being but a shadow of good things to come, could never with those sacrifices make the comers thereunto perfect. For then, as he argues, would they not have ceased to be offered?—*and therefore their ceasing was because they were not means proportionable to so great an end as the remission of sin.

In short, God's covenant in sending Christ was with respect to his justice, which could not without full payment be satisfied: and if the blood of bulls



and goats could have done by virtue of a covenant, it had not been justice in God, (according to any notion we can have of justice,) it could not have pleased the Lord, as the prophet speaks, *to bruise Christ, and put him to grief, and to make his soul an offering for sin*, when the offering of a bullock would have done as well. *If righteousness could have come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain*, Gal. ii. 21.

*Soc.* Crellius, in his book touching one God the Father, in the conclusion of the work treats of the satisfaction of Christ, and says, it is a great hinderance to piety: for if Christ has paid the whole debt, what need we do any more? Nothing can be required of us.

*Obj.* <sup>9.</sup> That the doctrine of satisfaction obstructs piety.

*Chr.* Yes; Christ does require from us a lively and steadfast faith in that satisfaction he has made for us, (which he cannot have who does not believe it,) together with sincere repentance and amendment of life: and then his satisfaction will be applied to us by our faith. This is the condition, that is, faith and repentance: and this is offered to all; and full satisfaction is made for the sins of the whole world; yet all have not the benefit of it, because all will not accept of the conditions. Let me give a familiar example: suppose you should pay all the debts of the prisoners in a gaol, and open the doors, on condition that all who acknowledged your kindness, and would go out, should be free; and there were some among them despised your kindness, and would not go out, preferring the lazy and sordid life of a prison before the true liberty. Could you say that their debt had not been paid? And yet it would be true that they were never the better for

it, but the worse: it would be an aggravation of their future bondage.

Difference  
betwixt the  
debt of sin  
and of money.

What a gross conception had Crellius of the nature of sin! He looked upon it only as a lump of money to be paid down; that we run in debt to God as a man does to his creditor; so that God would lose his money if it were not repaid to him, and so being paid by another, God is no loser, and the debtor has no more to do; he owes nothing to God his creditor, but may now defy him as out of his reach, need be pious no more, love, fear, or trust in God no more! This is the Socinian argument against the satisfaction! it would hinder piety! And all this because sin is called a debt. But the sophistry consists in not distinguishing aright betwixt the debt of sin and of money. God does not lose by sin as a man loses his money; that is a gross thought.

Sin a debt  
to love.

But sin is an offence against love and goodness, that is, against God, *for God is love*.

And the greater the goodness against which you offend, your offence is the greater. The greater love has been shewn to you, the more your ingratitude, if you be not sensible of it.

10.  
The satisfaction  
which love  
must require by the  
necessity of  
its nature,  
and for our  
happiness.

And the greater misery to yourself too: for love is happiness, and consequently the want of love must be misery; it is envy, malice, and all torment.

Now it is not in the power, that is, in the nature of love, ever to forgive till you grow sensible of your fault: love cannot be bribed to a reconciliation with pride, envy, malice, or what is contrary to its own nature: it must hate these by the same necessity that it is itself.

And there is an exact justice in love: it will

require that your sense of your fault hold full proportion to the goodness offended. If I be but a little sensible for a great fault, love will reject it, it will be a fresh provocation. On the other hand, if I be as sensible as I can, and desire to be more, and humble myself, and repent, love will accept, and improve the smallest sincerity, the smoking flax or bruised reed. Whereas all the torments of hell will never move its pity or one kind thought towards hypocrisy, or any treachery of love. Behold the goodness and severity of love!

*Soc.* You say love will accept the smallest sincerity, the smoking flax and bruised reed, that is, our contrition, though it be not proportionable to our offence; what need then of any other satisfaction?

*Chr.* This is no satisfaction at all, being, as you say, not proportionable to our offence. Therefore God cannot accept it as a satisfaction. I will tell you, presently, how he accepts it. But first you may consider, that what is righteous and pure in the eyes of man is not so before God; he says, that *we are* Isa. lxiv. 6. *all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags:* “quasi pannus menstruatae:” the most impure and filthy thing in the world, that defiled whatever it touched: now God is purity itself; who *chargeth his angels with folly, yea, the heavens are not clean in his sight.* Job iv. 18. and xv. 15. How then can he accept of our impurities? He sees insincerity and sin in our best performances, in our very righteousnesses: and insincerity is a sin against love; love cannot accept of insincerity; it is a fresh offence against love; it is hypocrisy, which love must hate by the necessity of its own nature.



*Soc.* By this argument, God must hate the angels too, for he sees folly in them.

*Chr.* It is said *folly*, not sin; the angels that sinned are cast out of heaven.

*Soc.* But God cannot love folly more than sin.

*Chr.* No; he loves not folly: but all created wisdom is folly in comparison with the eternal and infinite wisdom: and he loves that wisdom he has given to creatures, though it bears no proportion to his infinite wisdom, and is folly in respect to that; but it is not sin; for though all sin be folly, yet all folly is not sin.

The angels of heaven are reconciled and accepted through Christ.  
Col. i. 19,  
20.

But further, we are told that the very angels of heaven are reconciled and accepted through Christ; to shew that nothing created is worthy before God, upon its own account. Thus we read, that *it pleased the Father that in Christ should all fulness dwell; and, having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself; by him, whether things in earth, or things in heaven.*

Ephes. i. 10.

And again, *That in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth; even in him.*

Now if the folly, though not sin, of the angels of heaven needs a reconciliation, how much more all our gross and grievous sins! And if all their righteousness cannot be accepted, for its own sake, because of the mixture of their folly and imperfections, which makes them unworthy to appear in the presence of God, but as they are accepted through Christ, who is their head and reconciler, as well as ours; how then can our righteousness be accepted,



upon its own account, which is *all impurity and filthy rags?*

*Soc.* What then is the meaning of *not quenching the smoking flax, or breaking the bruised reed*, or, as you infer from thence, accepting of our small sincerity?

*Chr.* That is, as to what is to be performed on our part; our repentance, and sense of the infinite goodness of God to us, in the wonderful economy of our redemption by Christ: in this God will pardon our imperfections, and accept of our smoking flax and bruised reed; but he accepts it not as any part of the satisfaction made for our sin: *We must let* Psal. xlix.8. *that alone for ever*, as David says, *for it cost more to redeem their souls.* And *no man can by any* Ver. 7. *means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him.* This is performed wholly and solely by Christ, and we must put in for no share of it, none of the merit; but pay our most dutiful acknowledgments, in adoring his goodness, who has given to God a sufficient ransom for us, and has redeemed our souls by the blood of his cross; and this, though very imperfect on our part, God will accept in and through the merits and satisfaction made for us by Christ; and in that only.

And to this my argument, drawn from the nature of love, perfectly agrees. For it is necessary towards completing the full and absolute notion of the justice of love, that there be a sensibility of the fault proportionable to the offence: this is impossible for man to do; for an offence against infinite love requires an infinite sense of such offence: this Christ performs, and taking upon him our nature and our sin, he offers to God a sense of sin fully proportion-

able to the whole offence: and then he intercedes for his younger brother, who is as sensible as he can be in his fallen state and in his desires, even proportionable to his offence, that is, infinitely.

And is accepted in the fulness of Christ's satisfaction, and the sincerity of his own desires.

And it is natural, even among men, thus to accept one person in behalf of another, especially one brother for another, or near relation, the same flesh and blood.

But this still supposes the offending person to be as sensible as he can: on the contrary, if he persist obstinate, and will not be reconciled, he redoubles his offence, and his friend's intercession is a fresh aggravation of his wicked perverseness and ill nature: thus Christ's satisfaction is the strongest obligation to piety that is imaginable; and he who thinks otherwise, and practises accordingly, will never receive any benefit by it.

And love and happiness being reciprocal, consequently he can never return to happiness till he become sensible of love: so that this method is even natural; and no other way could possibly either restore a sinner, or make atonement for his sin.

I know this necessity of satisfying God's justice is generally argued upon from another topic, which is, the greatness and majesty of God; and consequently sin is considered as an offence against, and a contempt of God's government and sovereign authority; and, therefore, that the honour of his government requires full and absolute satisfaction.

And all this is exceeding true: but I choose rather to explain it by the nature of God, which is love; for from hence flows his sovereign authority

and all his other attributes : and by considering the very nature of God, we discover more plainly the nature of sin, and of that satisfaction which even by nature is due for sin, and which only can make atonement for it.

*Soc.* You say that the sense which Christ had of sin was proportionable to the offence, which is measured by the goodness offended, which is infinite. Hence it will follow that the sense which Christ had of the demerit of sin did exceed that of all the damned, for theirs is not infinite. And then it will follow that Christ did despair, or something worse, if worse can be, because the damned have so strong a sense of sin, as to drive them even into despair.

11.  
Ob. That  
Christ had  
despair.

*Chr.* Despair of God's mercy does not proceed from a strong sense of sin, though it supposes it. It proceeds from a weak, which is a false, notion of God. Hence it is that one man who hopes in God may yet have a stronger sense of sin than another who despairs ; but then he that despairs has not so strong and true a notion of God.

Thus Christ had a sense of sin infinitely exceeding that of all the damned, even to eternity ; because he had an adequate notion of God, and, consequently, of the infinite demerit of sin : but, from the same reason, he could not despair, which, as has been said, proceeds only from a low and insufficient notion of the nature of God ; though in the great case of dereliction upon the cross, when he cried out, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me !* he submitted himself even to that infirmity of our corrupted nature, as much as could possibly be distinguished from sin, and consist with a right apprehension of God ; which though we may suppose in



a great measure clouded through the anguish of sufferings, and the load of sin in its full weight, which merited the eternal desertion of the comforts of God's blessed influence from the sinner, and which therefore Christ endured to an unexpressible degree, exceeding in weight even the despair of the damned; yet formal despair could never befall him, because it proceeds from a false notion of God.

12.  
Ob. That  
he must  
have suf-  
fered eter-  
nal punish-  
ment.

*Soc.* You say that eternal punishment is the reward of sin; therefore if Christ did undergo the whole punishment due to sin, he must have suffered eternally.

*Chr.* The eternity of the punishment is only because satisfaction can never be made by the damned, whom justice detains till they have *paid the uttermost farthing*; which they not being able to pay, consequently are prisoners for ever: but as justice requires *the uttermost farthing*, so when that is paid justice is obliged to release. That *uttermost farthing*, which the nature of love requires, as well as of justice, (as I have shewed,) is a sense of the sin proportionable to the offence; which Christ in our nature having offered in full tail, he purchased the release of that nature, and gives the benefit to all who will accept of it; whereas, if he had suffered eternally, he had only been a prisoner with us, but had purchased no redemption for us.

*Soc.* In answer to your arguments drawn from the nature of God, as explained by the nature of love, I think them too notional.

*Chr.* It is the notion God has given us of himself, 1 John iv. 8, 16. *God is love*; and therefore it must be the most certain topic from whence to



argue of his nature ; and to say that this is notional is finding fault with scripture.

*Soc.* I like the other topic better ; that is, to consider of God only as a great governor ; and not to argue from his nature, but only to consider what may be consistent, that is, safe, to his government.

And in this sense I take all his threats, even of hell, to be no more but threats in order to secure his government over us ; and that therefore he is not bound in justice, or any way, to inflict those punishments further than to secure his government : and that this is no breach of promise, or of his word, more than it is in a prince to remit that punishment which he by his laws has denounced against such an offence : the security of his government is all he has to look to ; it is no injustice or falsifying his word to pardon such an offence, or to mitigate it to what degree he pleases.

XXII.  
Of the eternity of hell.

And therefore, though God has threatened hell to be eternal, he may remit that, either in part or in the whole, without any impeachment to his justice or his veracity, as he spared the Ninevites after he said he would destroy them.

*Chr.* His threatening of the Ninevites was in order to their repentance, Jonah iii. 10, and so are his temporal threatenings to other nations and kingdoms, as we are assured, Jer. xviii. 7, 8 ; and therefore when they do repent, the end of that threatening is obtained.

But it is quite otherwise in the punishment of hell ; for the sufferings there are not intended for the amendment of the offenders, (which is in order to pardon,) but as a satisfaction to justice, the time of forgiveness being over ; as when a malefactor is

brought to justice, to die without mercy for his offence.

*Soc.* This is only to secure the government against the like offenders for the future; and therefore I said that God does and ought to punish so far as to secure his government, but further than that consideration he is not obliged either in justice or honour.

*Chr.* Why? Is God afraid? Is he in danger of having his government overturned? What a poor notion have you advanced of God's justice!

Besides, this argument only takes place as to this world, for nobody says that the punishments of hell are only for example sake; therefore it must be from some other consideration; and I can see no other but that of satisfying the justice of God. But why was eternal punishment threatened by God?

*Soc.* It was of use to have eternal punishments threatened at least, because less than that would not deter men from sinning, since we see that that itself does not do it; for

“ The sting of sin is the terror of eternal punish-  
 “ ment; and if men were once free from the fear  
 “ and belief of this, the most powerful restraint  
 “ from sin would be taken away<sup>b</sup>—— And there-  
 “ fore, if any thing more terrible than eternal venge-  
 “ ance could have been threatened to the workers of  
 “ iniquity, it had not been unreasonable, because it  
 “ would all have been little enough to deter men  
 “ effectually from sin<sup>c</sup>. And whoever considers how  
 “ ineffectual the threatening even of eternal tor-  
 “ ments is to the greatest part of sinners, will soon  
 “ be satisfied that a less penalty than that of eternal

<sup>b</sup> Hist. p. 4.

<sup>c</sup> P. 11.

“suffering would to the far greatest part of mankind have been in all probability of little or no force——<sup>d</sup>The eternal rewards and punishments of another life are the great sanction and security of God’s laws. <sup>e</sup>And, in the last place, that if we suppose that God did intend that his threatenings should have their effect, to deter men from the breach of his laws, it cannot be imagined that in the same revelation which declares these threatenings any intimation should be given of the abatement or non-execution of them; for by this God would have weakened his own laws, and have taken off the edge and terror of his threatenings; because a threatening hath lost its force, if we once come to believe that it will not be executed: and consequently it would be a very impious design to go about to teach or persuade any thing to the contrary, and a betraying men into that misery which, had it been firmly believed, might have been avoided.”

*Chr.* This is astonishing beyond any thing ever I heard; for, I pray, answer me, whether your making hell doubtful be not, in your own words, “a very impious design, to take away the great sanction and security of God’s laws? to make them of little or no force to the greatest part of mankind?” And if the firm believing that misery (*viz.* the eternity of hell) be the means, as you say, to avoid it, then query whether making hell doubtful be the means to make us firmly believe it? You confess that in scripture there is not any intimation, or any to be expected, of the abatement or non-execution of the eternal punishment of hell. It would

<sup>d</sup> Hist. p. 29.<sup>e</sup> P. 20.



be asked here, how then you came by the discovery? You prove very well that it was God's design that men should think hell to be eternal.

But it seems you are still to be excepted, who are a man of reason, and will not be overreached. God could not keep it from you! But suppose you have been admitted into God's cabinet council, and this great secret has been revealed to you, how came you to blab it, and frustrate God's design, who intended that men should believe hell was eternal?

*Soc.* I have told you of the folly of trusting to this; for may-be hell may be eternal to some, though not to others; and it would not be prudence to run the hazard, though God should not inflict it: and if hell should be but for some time, what wise man would venture such terrible punishments, though for never so short a time?

*Chr.* But if less than men's believing the certainty of hell's eternal punishment will not, as you say, deter men from sinning, if that itself does not do it, how will they be persuaded by telling them that perhaps hell may be but for some short time, or, may-be, that God will remit it altogether; that neither his justice, his wisdom, nor other considerations, does require it from him to make good his threatenings, but it is still perfectly in his own power and free liberty to inflict them or not at his pleasure.

*Soc.* Will you say that it is not in God's power?

*Chr.* I like not the expression, that it is not in God's power to do this or that. We say he cannot lie, he cannot sin, &c. and we know the meaning of these, and the like expressions; and perhaps you



think to take advantage, and to tie me up with that sort of expression.

But if it does appear that God will not do such a thing, or that he will certainly do such a thing, I think we need not word it in that irreverend and provoking style, that God cannot, that it is not in his power to do this or that, as if we were putting him to defiance, or had caught him at an advantage.

Now why I think it most certain that hell is eternal, and that God will inflict it, is, because he has said so, and sworn to it.

Secondly, Christ did not promulgate this only as a lawgiver, whereby it might be taken as a bare threatening, and as such dispensable at the pleasure of the legislator ; but Christ taught it as a doctor of his church, and says, not only that such things were threatened, and consequently that it was a hazard they might be inflicted, but he speaks of them as things that will most certainly come to pass, that *the worm will not die in hell, nor the fire be quenched*. And therefore, whatever you say of the legislator, or his prerogative, Christ is here to be considered as a true teacher or a true prophet, which would not be so, *if the worm should die, or the fire be quenched*.

*Soc.* I will give you a further reason, which exposes the vulgar notion men have of the nature of justice, and which leads them wrong in all this matter. People have been taught heretofore that it belongs to the nature of justice to proportion the punishment to the crime ; whence an exact proportion is called a just proportion : and from hence they argue, from the infinite demerit of sin, an eternity of punishment.

11.  
Of the punishment being proportioned to the offence.

*Chr.* I must confess myself to have been in the number of these mistaken people ; for I always thought that it did belong to justice to proportion the punishment to the crime : I would gladly know your reason to the contrary.

*Soc.* You might have seen that in what I have already told you, viz. that the end of justice was only for the support of government.

For “<sup>f</sup>what proportion crimes and penalties ought  
 “ to bear to each other is not so properly a consi-  
 “ deration of justice, as of wisdom and prudence in  
 “ the lawgiver : and the reason of this seems very  
 “ plain, because the measure of penalties is not  
 “ taken from any strict proportion betwixt crimes  
 “ and punishments, but from one great end and de-  
 “ sign of government, which is, to secure the ob-  
 “ servation of wholesome and necessary laws ; and  
 “ therefore, if the appointing and apportioning of  
 “ penalties to crimes be not so properly a considera-  
 “ tion of justice, but rather of prudence in the law-  
 “ giver ; then, whatever the disproportion may be  
 “ between temporal sins and eternal sufferings, jus-  
 “ tice cannot be concerned in it. And I desire that  
 “ this consideration may be more especially ob-  
 “ served, because it strikes at the very foundation  
 “ of the objection.”

*Chr.* Indeed it does at the very foundation of the satisfaction of Christ, and makes it wholly unnecessary.

*Soc.* “ God is not obliged to execute what he hath  
 “ threatened, any further than the reasons and ends  
 “ of government do require ; and therefore he may  
 “ remit and abate as much as he pleaseth of the

“punishment that he hath threatened<sup>g</sup>.” And that declaration, Matt. xxv. 46, that *the wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment*<sup>h</sup>, does not restrain God from doing what he pleases. “We are all bound to preach, and you to believe, the terrors of the Lord;” not so “as saucily to determine what God must do in this case; for, after all, he may do as he will, as I have<sup>i</sup> clearly shewn.” But no doubt they are to be blamed, who will desperately put it to the hazard whether, and how far, God will execute his threatenings upon sinners in another world.” It is but a hazard, and that not so great as some of you would make us believe; for I do assure you that the misery of hell is so terribly severe, that “at present we can hardly tell how to reconcile it with the justice and goodness of God<sup>k</sup>.”

*Chr.* This is a fair inuendo that the eternity of hell is against both the justice and goodness of God; at least against his goodness.

*Soc.* “We may rest assured that if it be anywise inconsistent either with righteousness or goodness—which he knows much better than we do—to make sinners miserable for ever, that he will not do it.”

*Chr.* Since then you cannot at present reconcile it with God’s goodness, it is plain that you do not at present believe the eternity of hell, but, on the contrary, that you rest assured (as yourself word it) that God will not make sinners miserable for ever: and that for another reason, because (as you say) to punish crimes, or at least to proportion the punish-

<sup>g</sup> Hist. p. 13.

<sup>h</sup> P. 15.

<sup>i</sup> P. 21.

<sup>k</sup> P. 22.



ment to the crime, is not the work of justice, but only a design of government, to secure the observation of wholesome laws: and there being no such observation of wholesome laws supposed in the damned, consequently there must be no hell; not in respect of justice, for that, you assure us, is not concerned in the matter; and not in respect of the observation of such laws, which are not supposed to be observed there.

Unless you mean to turn hell into a purgatory, where repentance and amendment are allowed, and consequently pardon and release, which would be of service to some who find it very inconvenient to repent here, especially to make restitution; and this is fairly hinted in our historian's exposition of 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20. Hist. Unitar. p. 149.

But you tell us not all your hypothesis at once; it is new, and would surprise the world too much on the sudden. But I am afraid that you will improve this notion, and end in no hell at all, which I cannot but think to be your opinion, from what I have already observed of it.

I desire you will give us a definition of justice, or if you believe there is any such thing, other than some politique of state, to secure government by terrifying unthinking people, as the heathen said, *Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor!*

And we know the principles of some of our own and late ages, who took the name of Christians and philosophers, and yet made the authority even of scripture, and the very notion of right and wrong, to depend upon the civil magistrate.

And what is right and wrong but justice and injustice? And what is the civil magistrate but the



civil government? And your making that the end and measure of justice has but a little altered Mr. Hobbs's phrase; his meaning is exactly the same.

You make religion such a perfect tool to the civil government, as if it were intended for no other end in this or the world to come, than to keep in quietness people's outward possessions or lives, and to dispose the minds of men to the peace of this world.

*Soc.* "And for God's sake what is religion good  
 "for, but to reform the manners and dispositions of  
 "men, to restrain human nature from falsehood and  
 "treachery, from sedition and rebellion? Better it  
 "were there were no revealed religion than to be  
 "acted by a religion—that is continually sup-  
 "planting government, and undermining the wel-  
 "fare of mankind. And the doctrine of the law-  
 "fulness of deposing kings, and subverting govern-  
 "ment, is as bad or worse than infidelity and no  
 "religion<sup>1</sup>."

2.  
 The chief  
 end of reli-  
 gion.

*Chr.* This may be perhaps like a politician, but not so very like a Christian; because in the consideration of religion you totally forget the other world; and would rather have no religion, than to disturb the government with it, that is, "rather than  
 "be disturbed by any government for it."

The religion of this world is peace and plenty in this world. This you make the standard of your religion; and better have no religion than disquiet this. Sure you think Joshua to have been wicked, and his religion wicked, to disturb the poor Canaanites.

*Soc.* As to that expedition of Joshua, I will not meddle with it. But (till I be better informed, which

3.  
 If religion  
 may be  
 preached

<sup>1</sup> Hist. p. 21.

without  
leave of the  
civil go-  
vernment.

I am always ready to be) I cannot think it lawful so much as to preach the gospel against the command of the civil government, unless we had such an extraordinary commission as the apostles, or as Joshua had, and could vouch it with miracles as they did.

*Chr.* Not to preach the gospel without leave of the civil magistrate is making the authority of scripture depend upon the civil magistrate as much as Mr. Hobbs himself would desire, or Erastus, or the grand signior.

So many friends have you made to yourself with this doctrine of Mammon, who when you fail may receive you into their habitations: nor need you fear to displease the pope by this; for where he is the supreme civil magistrate, which he is owned to be at Rome, (and others contend for him all over the world, at least in what they call catholic countries, even to depose kings, to create and bestow kingdoms at his pleasure,) there you will allow that the gospel shall not be preached without license from his holiness, nay that the very notion of justice, and of right and wrong, must be taken from him; which is making him infallible, and even God, in the most strict and proper sense; and he must, in your scheme, not only judge always right, but it is right and justice because he does judge it: and so of truth and falsehood; for what is that but right and wrong?

But notwithstanding all these efforts, the world is still possessed, and I hope in God ever will be, that there is such a virtue as justice, that there is right and wrong among men, though there was no political government in the world, or though the government was so secured that it could not be shaken with any attempts of ill designing men, yet that

wicked men ought to be punished for the evils they have done, without respect to what more they might do; and that there ought to be difference made betwixt greater and lesser crimes, and their punishments, proportionable even in justice, without regard to politics.

*Soc.* Let us return to the subject we were upon, which is the satisfaction of Christ.

*Chr.* What has been said of the nature of justice was necessary to that subject; for if justice be nothing else but an intrigue of politics, as you have disputed, then indeed it infers no necessity of satisfaction; there is no such thing as satisfaction; it can be nothing but prudence and foresight, for that is the relative to justice, if it be taken only for a caution in government: but, on the other hand, if justice be a positive virtue, if it be one of God's attributes, and consequently God himself, of his very nature and essence, so that God is justice in the abstract, then it must require full and adequate satisfaction, for that, as is said, is the nature of justice, and consequently of God, who is not God because he is governor of the world, (which is all the notion some men have of him,) but he is chief governor because he is God; it is a consequence of his nature; and therefore we must compute of his government from his nature, not of his nature from his government; and from the necessity of his nature, as he has revealed it to us, we infer the necessity of a satisfaction to his justice, which is his nature: and consequently his government must of necessity proceed pursuant to his nature, that is, his justice; and we must not measure it by that mean and worldly notion of government, under poor politics

4.  
All this applied to the doctrine of satisfaction.



and tricks of state, to keep up their government and secure the execution of their laws. If we be good, what do we add to God? and if we be wicked, what do we hurt him? No; he punishes wickedness out of his inherent justice, and neither to fear nor flatter sinners: therefore he punishes when the time of repentance is over, that is, in hell.

And from the same necessity all sinners must go thither, if full satisfaction be not made to his justice; justice not being satisfied does always suppose that justice is not done, and consequently that there is injustice; for coming short of justice is contrary to justice.

For these reasons we gladly, and without contradiction, receive the most rational and gracious dispensation of the gospel; wherein we find a full and adequate satisfaction (for other than a full and adequate satisfaction is no satisfaction) to justice for our sins; without which there could never have been any remission, by the same necessity that justice must be justice, and that God is justice. And this is the true account we give, and proper end of Christ's coming into the world.

5.  
Of Christ  
introduc-  
ing the co-  
venant of  
repentance.

*Soc.* I have heard some of our authors say<sup>m</sup>, that the end of Christ's coming was to shew us a new condition or covenant for remission of sin, that is, repentance, which was more effectual than the legal sacrifices.

*Chr.* He might have taught us this without dying and being crucified. Secondly, repentance was no new condition or covenant: it was the import of all the legal sacrifices, and as such fully explained by the prophets: *I will have mercy, and not sacri-*



*fice—Bring no more vain oblations—Wash ye, make ye clean; put away the evil of your doings—The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit—at what time soever a sinner repents, he shall save his soul—Rend your heart, and not your garments:* and many more places. This is the strain of all the prophets.

And Christ came not to destroy or alter any thing of the law, but to fulfil it: therefore he taught no new doctrine, but fulfilled his types, which were in the old law, and brought them to their fulness and completion.

The law and the gospel are called two covenants, or testaments, because the one was before the other, one weaker or more imperfect than the other.

6.  
The law  
and the gos-  
pel the same  
covenant.

But in regard that one was the shadow or type of the other, and was fulfilled and perfected in the other, they were both but one and the same covenant. It was one and the same Christ who was figured in the law and plainly exhibited in the gospel.

He was meant when the priest was commanded to eat the sin-offering, that he might *bear the iniquity of the congregation to make atonement for them before the Lord.*

Deut. vi. 29.  
x. 17.

This sin-offering was so holy, or devoted, to bear God's indignation for sin, that none *must touch it but who was holy: the garment must be washed on which any of its blood had been sprinkled; and the earthen vessel wherein it was sodden must be broken; and the brasen pot scoured and rinsed.*

7.  
Christ tak-  
ing our sins  
upon him-  
self was ty-  
pified in the  
sin-offer-  
ing.  
Lev. vi. 27.

Yet this devoted and cursed thing, loaded with the sins of the whole people, the priest must eat, and turn it into his own flesh and blood, that he

might bear their iniquity, as it were, incorporated in his own body.

And thus it was that Christ was made a curse and a sin for us, and bore our iniquities; they were incorporated in him, made his own, and he bore them in his own body on the cross; and suffered for them as if they had been his own.

8.  
Christ our  
surety.

He made himself liable to our debt by becoming our surety for the debt, and so made it his own: and then he was bound to satisfy the whole debt, because it was his own.

And no man calls it unjust to become a surety for a friend, or for the surety to pay the debt, especially when the principal is not able.

*Soc.* That is true as to personal actions, debt, or the like; but can we find any such thing used among men as sureties for life?

Our host-  
age.

*Chr.* Yes; it is common to be bound life for life: you have several instances of it in scripture, 1 Kings xx. 39, 40, 42. 2 Kings x. 24; and hostages are used in all nations, and ever have been, nor can war and public faith be managed without it.

*Soc.* Can you find any place in scripture where Christ is called by the name of *a surety*?

*Chr.* The name signifies nothing: you have seen the thing under other names of as much import as that; viz. *redemption, ransom, propitiation, atonement, and sacrifice*: but if the very word will persuade you more, you have it too, Heb. vii. 22. *Jesus was made a surety.*

*Soc.* Christ there is not called our surety, but *the surety of a better testament.*

Heb. vii. 22.  
explained.

*Chr.* That is, of the new testament or covenant: and are not we a party in this covenant? Therefore

he is our surety; as he that is bound in a bond with me is my surety; so that being surety of a covenant is being surety for the person on whose behalf the covenant is made.

What if we perform our part of the covenant?

*Soc.* No question he that is surety of the covenant is surety to you for the performance of what is due to you by the covenant from the other party.

*Chr.* And is it not reciprocal, that if I break my part of the covenant of grace, then the surety of the covenant is bound to God for me that I shall pay according to the covenant?

*Soc.* This is still only upon the account of the covenant.

*Chr.* Let it be upon what account it will, Christ is our surety: but that of the covenant we have discoursed already, and upon what account it is; I now only shew you that Heb. vii. 22. Christ is called our surety, by being called surety of the covenant made betwixt God and us; of which David spake when he prayed to God, *Be surety for thy servant*, Psal. cxix. 122. And Job was not ignorant of this notion when he said to God, *Put me in a surety with thee*, Job xvii. 3. So that there are no names nor expressions wanting, whereby to signify the satisfaction of Christ, even the very word *satisfaction*, Isaiah liii. 11.

*Soc.* I have heard from our authors an exposition of that text, Isaiah liii. 11. in another sense than you have taken it: *He shall see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied*; that is, Christ, after he is gone to heaven, shall reflect upon his past sufferings, and shall be satisfied, that is, pleased with it.

*Chr.* This is like one of the fore-mentioned inter-

9.  
The Socian interpretation of  
Isa. liii. 11.



pretations: the business is, this text must be got over; and this is one way! But this is a long paraphrase instead of an interpretation. Is there any thing in the context of Christ's going to heaven; and that this was to be understood not till his ascension?

*Soc.* No; but in our sense we cannot find another time when Christ should look with pleasure upon his own sufferings.

*Chr.* That whole chapter is treating of Christ's sufferings, and describing his passion; and the very verse next before that text tells us how *it pleased the Lord to bruise him, and put him to grief*; and so goes on, recounting the sufferings which the Lord laid upon him, of which these words are a part, *He shall see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied*.

Now if this were no inconvenience to your opinion, would it not be easier to mean those words in this sense: that God, who put Christ to grief, *should see of the travail of Christ's soul, and be satisfied with it*; rather than to make so great and unseen a transition from the passion of Christ to him in glory looking back upon him, meaning himself; *he said to him, or he looked upon him*, being phrases never used in English for a man's saying or looking to himself?

*Soc.* I confess, if it were not for the difficulty appears in that text to our opinion, your interpretation is what offers at first view from these words, and seems most natural and agreeable to the context and scope of that chapter.

But all this is a digression from our author<sup>n</sup> and

<sup>n</sup> Hist. p. 164.



the subject we are at present upon. If you please, let us return. He says, the distinction of two natures in Christ (a divine and a human) is clearly overthrown by the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th arguments mentioned in the first Letter.

*Chr.* And I refer to the answers given to them.

*Soc.* He says further, that if a thing, otherwise true of Christ, may be denied of him, because it is only in one of these (pretended) natures, and not in the other; if our Saviour, saith he, can do nothing of himself, only because he can do nothing of himself according to his human nature, and can do all things of himself according to his (pretended) divine nature, then it is lawful and allowable to say Christ is no man, was never born of the Virgin, never was crucified, dead, or buried, &c. And, on the other hand, no fault can be found with a Socinian<sup>o</sup>, when he shall say Christ is not true God, was not generated of the essence of his Father, was not from eternity; for all this may be said of him according to his human nature; for according to that, he is not true God, was not generated of the Father's essence, was not from eternity, &c.

18.  
A notable  
turn  
against the  
divinity of  
Christ.

This is his argument, and he thinks it invincible.

*Chr.* And to surprise him the more, I will answer it by granting it all, and shew his sophistry by a plain and familiar example.

Suppose any should question my legitimacy, and say I was not such a man's son; and when he came to the proof should say that my soul was not begotten by my father; and he only spoke in relation to that, and not of my body, which he allowed to be legitimately begotten by my father; would this save

<sup>o</sup> Hist. p. 165.

him from being a pitiful sophister, and paying me just damages? and yet I do grant all that he said to be true; but his condemnation lies in speaking with design to be misunderstood.

Thus it is with the Socinians: if they will explain themselves, and tell what they mean, viz. that Christ is not God, nor eternal, according to his human nature; that he did not suffer or die, according to his divine nature; no good Christian will be offended, because he also says the same.

But when we know the Socinian principle, and hear them deny Christ to be God, we have reason to take it in the same sense they meant it, and to judge them accordingly; and to think this shift as poor and contemptible, as if a man should deny I eat, slept, or talked, and say that he meant only that my soul did not eat, &c.

Arguments  
of the So-  
cinians.

*Soc.* Now we have done with our author; but a friend of the <sup>p</sup>ublisher's, of excellent learning and worth, adds a Letter of his own, to prove three things: 1. That the doctrine of the Trinitarians is no necessary or fundamental doctrine of Christianity; 2. That the Socinians are not to be put under any penalties of the law; 3. That the Trinitarians ought to own the Unitarians as Christian brethren.

I.  
That the  
doctrine of  
the Trinity  
is not fun-  
damental.

*Chr.* Give his reasons as to the first point, that the doctrine of the Trinity is not fundamental.

*Soc.* The first reason is, that it is difficult to be understood.

*Chr.* So is the nature of God; the most learned have very obscure and imperfect notions of it, and some common people have even blasphemous and contradictory apprehensions of God; yet you would

not exclude the belief of a God from being a fundamental article. God reveals himself as he thinks fit, and we are to learn all that we can; and God will require no more than he has given: the angels know him not perfectly. But is it not therefore fundamental, whether Christ be God, whether what we worship be God or no God?

*Soc.* His second reason is, that to make the doctrine of the Trinity fundamental is to join hands with the papists, in contradiction to the protestant doctrine; owning with them, that the scriptures are obscure and insufficient even in fundamentals<sup>q</sup>.

*Chr.* What he dare not prove, he slyly insinuates, viz. that the protestants think the Trinity is not sufficiently revealed in scripture; the contrary to which we assert, and think it has been shewn.

*Soc.* He says the papists have in reality the advantage of the protestants in that matter<sup>r</sup>.

*Chr.* That is, he would have it so, because it makes for the Socinian principle; but we must maintain the truth, though papists and Socinians are joined against us, and that lord, too, of whom he tells the fine story.

*Soc.* His third reason is, that the first ages of the church had none but the Apostles' Creed; and that the Apostles' Creed does fully agree with the Socinian, but by no means with the Trinitarian doctrine of fundamental faith<sup>s</sup>.

*Chr.* We have seen already that the Apostles' Creed does express the Trinity, and cannot be reconciled to sense without it; and the after Creeds were only further illustrations of it.

*Soc.* His fourth reason is, that the sixth Article

<sup>q</sup> Hist. p. 169.

<sup>r</sup> P. 170.

<sup>s</sup> P. 171.



of the Church of England says, that nothing is to be required of any man as an article of faith, but what is in the scripture, or may be proved thereby.

*Chr.* What does this prove against the Trinity?

*Soc.* Nothing, unless you will confess that it cannot be proved from scripture.

*Chr.* This was his fetch in his second reason, and it was dull to bring it in again.

2.  
That the  
Socinians  
ought not  
to be pro-  
secuted.

*Soc.* Will you hear his reasons to the second point? viz. that the Socinians or Unitarians ought not to be put under any penalties by the law<sup>t</sup>.

*Chr.* I think none have a right to claim a toleration or immunity to their religion, whose principle it is not to allow the same to other religions, and who do not practise it when they themselves have the power: and whether the Socinians or Unitarians be of this number, the bitter persecution of the Arian against the orthodox will sufficiently witness.

Your friend Grotius, *De Jure Belli*, lib. II. c. 20. §. ult. whom you quoted on your side, observes out of Athanasius, [*Ep. ad Solitar. Vit. agentes Ep.* tom. I. Vide Hilarium, *Orat. ad Constantium*,] that the Arians were the first of any, who called themselves Christians, that persecuted others for religion. *In Arianam hæresin acriter invehitur Athanasius, quod prima in contradicentes usa esset judicium potestate, et quos non potuit verbis inducere, eos vi, plagis, verberibusque ad se pertrahere anniteretur:* “Whom they could not persuade by fair  
“means, they endeavoured to bring over to their  
“side by force and persecution:” of this you will be satisfied abundantly, not only in the reigns of Constantius and Valens, but of the Gothic kings in

<sup>t</sup> Hist. p. 172.



Spain, and the Vandal kings in Africa, whose persecutions are writ by Victor Vitensis.

If we should tell them that they should have the same quarter they gave to Athanasius, what objection could they make against the justice of the sentence? and what security could they give, or reason, to make any one believe, that if they had a Socinian prince (which God avert) they would not persecute as bloodily as they did formerly? or that Socinian bishops in this age would be more Christian and merciful than those in the ages past; and would not make use of the temporal power, as they did before, to deprive the orthodox bishops, and seize upon their sees for themselves; and prosecute those for schismatics who refused to join with them in communion; and as obnoxious to the temporal law, who should dare to own their deprived orthodox Fathers? When they can secure us, that in this case the orthodox ought not to be put under any penalties by the law, then, and not till then, it will be time for them to plead that the Socinians ought not to be under any penalties by the law, of which they are under no apprehensions at present; nor can they ask more liberty than they have, unless to be established by act of parliament as the national religion; of which I will not say whether they have hopes or not, or whether now, or in a little longer time, when their principles shall be more generally spread, and as publicly owned in the country as they are in and near the city. For what other end should they desire a repeal of the penal laws I cannot see at present, for they are in fact as much suspended towards the Socinians as towards other dissenters. The Socinians have now

for a long time had an open meeting-house in Cutlers'-hall in London; their preacher one Emlin, formerly a dissenting preacher in Dublin, but forced to fly out of Ireland for his open and notorious Socinianism. I have seen a very long catalogue of the many volumes of Socinian tracts printed since this Brief History we are now upon: and they have been dispersed with great diligence all over London, without caution or secresy, and are still to be bought openly in the booksellers' shops; yet no inquiry or prosecution! I have heard Socinianism by name openly defended in public coffee-houses, and the persons own themselves to be Socinians, and no notice taken! What liberty would they have? or what persecution do they fear? They all pass under the name of good protestants! for they are not papists.

3.  
That we  
ought to  
own them  
as our  
Christian  
brethren.

*Soc.* This brings me to the third point, which is, that the Trinitarians ought to own the Unitarians as Christian brethren.

*Chr.* You charge us with polytheism and idolatry; and that Christ, whom we worship as God, you say is but a creature: what greater difference can there be in religion? As soon may contradictions be reconciled, and God and no God mean the same thing, as we be Christian brethren.

The Jews and heathens confess Christ to be a man, and a good man; the Turks own him to be a true prophet, and the Messiah sent from God: these, too, must be Christian brethren upon the same score.

Besides, you reject the only way we know to heaven, which is, by the satisfaction of Christ. How then can we be Christian brethren? We go not so much as the same road together.

*Soc.* Must every body be damned that does not believe the satisfaction of Christ?

None saved but by the satisfaction of Christ.

*Chr.* I will not say that; but I do firmly believe that no man can be saved but by the satisfaction of Christ; infants, fools, madmen, and those who never heard of it, are excused from believing it, but yet are saved by the virtue of it.

*Soc.* Why then does Athanasius say, that “except we believe we shall be damned, and without doubt perish everlastingly?” Are not these words too positive?

*Chr.* They are no more than our Saviour said, *Go preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.*

Mark xvi. 15, 16.

*Soc.* But why does Athanasius put in such positive words, as to say, “without doubt they shall perish,” &c. as if he were so sure of it?

Obj. Of Athanasius’ saying, without doubt shall perish.

*Chr.* Is not what Christ says true without doubt?

*Soc.* Yes, sure.

*Chr.* Then, without doubt, they who believe not shall be damned.

*Soc.* This is a hard saying.

*Chr.* But lay it not upon Athanasius, who but repeated it after our blessed Saviour, and spoke the sense of all the rest of the Fathers of the church: and, in the true sense, I think it goes no further than this; that those who refuse or neglect the preaching of the gospel, that is, reasonable conviction of these revealed truths, shall be condemned. But I do not think at all that those are included whose unbelief proceeds from an impossibility of conviction, either through want of capacity or want of means; and my reason is, Christ bids them



go and preach, and then who do not believe—So that where there is no preaching, or sufficient publication of the gospel, there this sentence does not take place ; for it is only pronounced against those who refuse to believe upon the preaching of the gospel.

Secondly, no man is required to believe further than his capacity can reach ; for that is not in his power, and is impossible, and a contradiction in nature. And God has said, that he will require no more than he has given ; but then men may improve their parts, and strength will increase by labour, and decay by idleness ; and *to him that hath, more shall be given* ; and he will be condemned who hides his talents.

These are strong incitements to the utmost diligence and sincerity, but by no means to despair.

And it is in this sense that I recommend to you the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ : for if faith in him, as such, as our surety and satisfaction to God's justice and wrath against sin, if this be the saving faith, as we say it is, then the Turks and barbarians will enter into heaven before you, and have a better title to the name of Christians.

The Alcoran allows of Christ as an intercessor with the divine Majesty, as you have heard ; and they speak as great and honourable things of Christ as any Socinian can do ; and a great deal more, in some respects, as I have shewn, almost to the height of the Arians themselves.

The nearness of their faith may be the reason why the Hist. Unitarians tells us <sup>u</sup>, that the Soci-

<sup>u</sup> Hist. p. 30.



nians in the Turkish and other Mahometan and pagan dominions are very numerous, but that their doctrine is not professed in Christendom, except in a few very obscure and little places.

But pray let me ask you in good earnest, for I do not well understand, how you expect to be saved by Christ? The Socinian's faith.

*Soc.* By that new covenant he has made with God for us.

*Chr.* What is the condition of that covenant?

*Soc.* Our true obedience, and, upon failure, sincere repentance and amendment.

*Chr.* Is any of our repentance and amendment as true and sincere as it ought to be?

*Soc.* No; we must not presume to that, for the scripture says, that *all our righteousness is as filthy rags.* Isa. lxiv. 6.

*Chr.* Was the condition of the covenant, that God should accept of these *filthy rags*?

*Soc.* Through the intercession of Christ.

*Chr.* God hates sin with an irreconcilable hatred. And *he is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity.* Would Christ intercede with him to act contrary to his nature, and to love what he hates? Does not Christ himself hate sin? Does he desire it to be accepted?

*Soc.* That will not bear: but do not you say the same? Compared with the Christian.

*Chr.* Far from it: we say that God accepts only the satisfaction of Christ, as being full and adequate to his whole justice. And the condition and privilege of Christ's covenant is, by our being incorporated into him, to make his righteousness ours, that, as *he was made sin for us, who knew no sin*; 2 Cor. v. 21.

*so we (who have of ourselves no righteousness) might be made the righteousness of God in him.* And being thus clothed in the garments of our elder Brother, we are accepted *in him only*: and those only are accepted, who, in profound humility and sense of their own unworthiness, rely wholly on the righteousness of Christ.

We must work, because God works in and with us.

*Soc.* If we lean so wholly to the merits of Christ's righteousness, then we need not work ourselves: so say the Solifidians.

*Chr.* That has been sufficiently answered already, and it is resolved, Phil. ii. 12, 13, *Work out your own salvation—because it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.*

God gives us power to work that we might work: we must work because God commands it; and we must do all we can, because he gives us ability, and it is that we might use that ability: but when we have done all we can, we are unprofitable servants; we must trust nothing to any thing we do; it is all unclean, and cannot appear before God, nor can ever, for its own sake, be accepted by him; it must be hid and covered, and clothed with the righteousness of Christ; that nothing of itself may appear at all in the presence of God, (as has been said,) who sees folly in his angels, and the heavens are not clean in his sight; *how much less them that dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, who are crushed before the moth? And who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?*

Job iv. 19.

xiv. 4.

Yet must be unclothed of them all, and clothed in the righteousness of Christ,

You that trust in your own works appear to me as a man clothed in filthy rags, (for such is our righteousness,) and brought into court, rubbing and scrubbing, and patching these nasty clouts, striving

to make himself clean and fine and well drest as the courtiers he sees there.

Who may commend his skill and industry in darning or cobbling, but must withal pity his ignorance, if he thinks ever to make his dress fashionable by such means: but if he should presume to make one in that garb at a solemn feast, made upon the most glorious occasion, the marriage of the king's son, he must not only be thought mad, but expect to be severely punished, and thrown out of court with disgrace, for such impudence.

If none clothed in sackcloth (the weed of mourn- Esther iv. 2. ers) must enter into the king's palace, much less shall one besmeared, and in filth, come into his presence, sit down to table with him, nay, be admitted to his bed, made one with him, and married to him, and *sit with him in his throne*. For such high pre- Rev. iii. 21. rogative has Christ obtained for all true believers; who, when they come to heaven, are not, for Christ's sake, admitted in their filthy rags, nor is his covenant with his Father to patch and scour their rags; no, they can never be made fit for that place; but, as the serpent leaves all his skin behind him, they are stripped and divested of all their earth-stained sinful weeds: and, as the custom is in some courts, they are new clothed in the fashion of that court to which they come, as God said to Joshua, (Zech. iii. 4.) *Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee with change of raiment*. New botching the old will never do; we must have all new, a new wedding-garment put Matt. xxii. 12. upon us; we must throw off *the old man*, not seek Col. iii. 9, excuses for him, or to reconcile him to God, who 10. hates him and all wickedness by the same necessity



that he loves himself: nor can Christ plead for such; that would make him wicked too; he hates sin as much as God does.

An appeal  
to the Soci-  
nians.

Give me leave to suppose that you had now all your deathbed thoughts about you; place yourself, in your own imagination, in the utmost scene of your life, and just ready to breathe out your last, and be carried to hear the irrevocable sentence pass upon you; would you delight to bring the sincerity of your own performance before the most extreme scrutiny of infinite Justice, so as to stand or fall by it to all eternity? Or would you think it greater comfort, if you could believe that Christ would appear, not to plead for God's acceptance of your provocations, for such have been all your performances, but

Eph. v. 30.

that having made you a *member of his own body, of his flesh, and of his bones*, and consequently given you a title and a right to all that was his; as every member, even that which is grafted, partakes of the nature and privileges of the body: and that is truly a member which is enlivened and actuated by the same Spirit, and receives nourishment from the same Head; whence the apostle infers the necessity of our resurrection, because that Spirit

Rom. viii.  
11.

which raised up Christ from the dead must raise us up, being members of his body, and acted by his Spirit: I say, if you could believe that the merit of Christ's righteousness were thus made yours, so that you might plead it as your own, as a full satisfaction to the utmost demand of justice, paid by your surety, such a surety as has made your debt his own, by making you one with himself: if you could believe this, would it not give you more comfort and delight, more light and assurance to your



mind, than any excuse you could fancy to be made for all your failings, so as to make God in love with them, and accept them upon whatever arbitrary and fancied covenant you may suppose betwixt him and Christ, which is contrary to the nature of them both? and that upon the only reason of an innocent person being murdered by those sinners, without any need or necessity for it at all, upon account of satisfying the justice of God for our sins; for so you Socinians say; but yet give no other reason at all for the death of Christ, but suppose a covenant for it without any why or wherefore, when all might have been done as well without it, which is opposite to all sense and reason; while you reject as irrational the satisfaction of Christ, which is strictly consequential, and necessary to the nature of justice, which is God: and the covenant of remission, grounded upon it, flows necessarily from it, carries its own light and assurance with it, and leaves no doubt or suspense in that heart which can believe it. He that thus follows Christ walketh not in darkness; but I will be judged by yourself whether your way be not dark and slippery, whether you can lean your souls absolutely, and without hesitation, upon that foundation of your being accepted without any satisfaction made for your sins, trusting only to the sincerity and perfection of your own performance of those conditions which Christ hath enjoined as the terms of that arbitrary covenant you suppose he made with God, without any covenant of satisfaction. Which of these covenants would you desire to plead before your Judge, before the face of the utmost justice, unerring essential justice in the abstract, which cannot forgive or re-

mit the least farthing, more than it can cease to be what it is, that is, justice? Would you appear there pleading your own righteousness, or sincerity of your repentance, as an atonement for your sins? that would be cleaning of your filth with a filthy cloth. Would you not rather (to end in the words of scripture) have the *filthy rags* of your own righteousness taken quite away, and to be clothed in the *wedding garment* of the righteousness of Christ?

*Soc.* There is no dispute but the latter would be chosen, if it were in our choice, that is, if it were in our power to believe it; it has comforts in it beyond all imagination.

The grace  
of God ne-  
cessary to  
work true  
faith in us.

*Chr.* We are told by St. Paul, Eph. ii. 8, that this *faith is the gift of God*. All arguments will prove ineffectual without the influence of God's blessed Spirit; his grace, like the sun, is that which must inspire the ground of our heart, to make it capable of receiving the good seed of his word, and bringing forth fruit into salvation; without this, all our own manuring and cultivation is but lost pains: yet we must prepare the ground, and cleanse our heart; but that is only to render it susceptible of the influence of this blessed Sun of righteousness, which only giveth life: therefore all the glory, all the praise, is not to him that soweth or watereth, but to him that giveth the increase: to him the doctrine of satisfaction restores the whole of our salvation, without taking any thing from the obligation of our own endeavours, not as partners in the merit, but as the natural and bounden duty of creatures, and sinners received to pardon and grace; which therefore to neglect is rebellion and contempt of God, and renders us incapable of the influence of

his blessed Spirit, which will not descend into an impure or polluted, nor into a stubborn and disobedient heart, much less into an heart fraught with the conceit of its own sincerity, so as to think it has no need of any satisfaction for its sins more than the integrity and perfection of its own repentance; upon which yourselves are forced to confess you cannot lean your souls confidently when you come to die, but wish for that satisfaction against which you dispute.

Judge then with yourself whether you had reason to avoid all the plain texts which speak of the satisfaction of Christ and of his divinity, upon which it is grounded, and consequently that of the Trinity, without which the other cannot be; and to strain your wit to find salvos to turn them to another sense, which may be done to the plainest words can be spoken in any language.

A persuasive inference from the whole.

And consider, that by the adorable providence of God there are no doctrines wherein all Christian churches are so much united as in the Trinity, the incarnation, and satisfaction of Christ; and therefore judge if, to destroy this doctrine, you had reason to decline the evidence and authority of the catholic church in all ages, which declared the meaning of these scriptures we have debated, as the church this day does interpret them.

And whether you consulted your own advantage, when you chose for your guides the most wretched heretics in the several ages, who opposed their lewd fancies to the received doctrine of the orthodox, wherein themselves had been educated, and stand to this day condemned in all the churches of the Christian world.

And all this, only to carry you off from that foundation of faith which, *once delivered to the saints*, is most according to the letter of the scripture, gives most glory to God, and takes least to ourselves; which only can give you comfort or assurance in the hour of death, or dare be pleaded on the day of judgment.

All glory be to the one only God, the eternal Power, Wisdom, Goodness, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God; Creator of all things, Redeemer of mankind, Sanctifier of the elect, whose is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.



# AN ANSWER

TO THE

## REMARKS ON THE FIRST DIALOGUE AGAINST THE SOCINIANS.

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SINCE the first Dialogue was printed, there is come out a Socinian sheet against it, entitled, Remarks on Mr. Charles Leslie's First Dialogue on the Socinian Controversy. And I think it proper to take notice of it here, for it may help to illustrate more at large what is there said in short; and because I hear some say it is well wrote, and that many lay stress upon it.

1. First I observe, that this Remarker has not kept up to that character the Socinian writers give themselves, (but without much reason, as I have shewed in these Dialogues,) of being the fairest adversaries, and an example to all others of managing controversy without heat, or passion, or personal reflections: for he has treated me in a very rough manner, calling the instances I bring ridiculous, p. 1; and that I am paganish in my notions, p. 6; and says, p. 1, "If such poor philosophy, such shallow reasoning, and such gross divinity, must baffle the Socinians, I confess they ought to be the last who pretend to the character of men of reason."

But notwithstanding all this contempt of what I have said, I cannot but think it has given him some

trouble, because it has made him so angry : for it is losers that have leave to talk at this rate, and as you shall see him talk afterwards.

2. My argument was, that we cannot charge any thing to be a contradiction in one nature because it is so in another, unless we understand both natures. Because a nature we understand not cannot be explained to us but by allusion to some nature we do understand : and there is that difference in natures, that no allusion will lie betwixt them ; that is, none that is proper, that will come up to the thing, or give a person who knows not the nature a true idea of it, or even reconcile it from contradiction, while he considers the nature he does not understand by way of allusion to another nature which he does understand.

3. To illustrate this, I gave several instances, of which this Remarker has, p. 1, picked out two, to shew his wit upon : one is, “ That if a man could “ be supposed to be without thought, it would be “ impossible to make him apprehend what it was, “ or the progress of it, as from hence to Rome in “ an instant,” &c. It is common to say to a man that is musing, Where are you ? and to answer, I was at Rome, or such a place. Now supposing any one (if it were possible) not to know what thought was, he would apprehend your body was removed to Rome and back again as soon as you could speak. And by allusion to the motion of body, this could not be reconciled to him from being a flat contradiction, that any thing could move a thousand miles as soon as a yard.

In answer to this, the Remarker tells you, p. 1, “ that when you think of Rome or any other place,

“ ’tis only the idea of it in your imagination which  
 “ you contemplate, and not a leap or local motion of  
 “ your thoughts to it.”

Who knows not this, that has any thought? But upon the supposition that a man did not know what thought was, he could have no apprehension of it but as of a local motion. And what you call idea he would fancy to be some horse or coach that carried you very swiftly; which yet would not solve the contradiction as to him, because the swiftness of the motion, suppose it a common bullet, cannot go two yards as soon as one.

4. But because it may be too extravagant to suppose a man without thought, though some have very little, and suppositions are allowed in argument even of what never was; yet I insist not on this, but have given another instance which is fact, and daily before us, that is, of a man born blind; and how you could give him any notion of sight, or explain to him how the eye can reach a star as soon as the top of the chimney. He can feel his eye with his hand, and that it is there fixed, and does not go out of his head; how then can he imagine it gets a thousand miles off in an instant, while he feels it does not stir at all? He can have no notion of this but by allusion to some other of his senses which he has: and by the word *reach*, how the sight can reach a star, he fancies arms or legs, that being all the way by which he can reach to any thing. And then knowing that the motion of legs or arms must go one yard before it goes two, he takes your description of sight to be not only some strange and wonderful thing, which he will readily grant, but he will insist that it is a flat contradiction, and therefore that

he must not believe it: and it is impossible to explain it so to him as to reconcile it from being a contradiction to him.

To this says the Remarker very ingeniously, “When we see the stars, our eyes move not up to them, but their extended rays strike upon the eye.” But the man born blind would say, Nothing strikes upon my eye, for then I should feel it. And he knows nothing what you mean by rays or by seeing; nor could think of any other way but that the eye must get up to the star, or the star come down to the eye: and your talking of rays will not solve the contradiction one bit as to him. Nor can he be any otherwise convinced than by persuading him that what is a contradiction in one nature he understands, must not be concluded to be so in another nature he does not understand; and that the nature of sight is such as that no allusion from any other of his senses can make him apprehend what it is. Nothing but this can silence his murmurings about contradiction.

Is it not reason then that our murmurings about contradiction in the nature of God should be silenced, seeing it can be told us no otherwise than by such words and allusions as are proper to man; and that the divine nature is infinitely more distant and diverse from the nature of man than one of our senses is from another? And as the contradiction the blind man conceives in the nature of sight is caused by his comparing it with the motion of his legs or arms, and that occasioned by improper words we must use to him, all others being unintelligible to him but what have allusion to some of the senses he has: so in like manner those contradictions we



conceive in the nature of God are all occasioned by the improper words which must be used to us in expressing of his nature, all words being totally unintelligible to us which have not allusion to something we understand. And thus we, conceiving of God after the manner of men, make all those things to be contradictions in God which in our conception of the words are a contradiction to men; as that several persons should not be several men, and that the Father should not be before the Son, &c. Whereas these terms of Father, Son, Persons, &c. are not proper to the nature of God, (though the most proper we can use or understand,) and therefore we are not to conceive of them in the manner they are used and applied to men, nor draw consequences from them, as we do when these words are applied to men; otherwise we shall run into the like contradictions as the blind man about sight.

This will throw off all that the Remarker says of inferring three Gods from the term of three Persons, because it is so among men. He talks, like a blind man of colours, of things which he must confess he does not understand, yet will be inferring contradictions in them; he owns he cannot speak properly of them, yet finds fault with the terms we use, because they are not proper, though he can find none more proper.

5. He may as well say that God is not eternal, because we have no word to express duration higher than the word *beginning*, and there can be no beginning in eternity.

He may say it is a contradiction that all things should be present with God, (which yet he will not deny to be an undoubted verity,) because it is a

contradiction to men that the past or future should be present, because then a thing would be past and not past, future and not future, at the same time.

These and other things I mentioned in my First Dialogue, but the Remarker takes no notice of them, nor will own the absurdity of inferring contradictions in God from contradictions in man, occasioned by the improper terms we are forced to make use of to express God after the manner of men.

6. But he has laid his stress upon this instance I brought of the blind man; and here he thinks he has an advantage of me: and I am willing to join issue with him upon it, that if he can find out any words that are proper whereby to express the nature of sight to a man born blind, and that he will give the blind man leave to draw consequences and infer contradictions from such words according as he understands them, then I will undertake to solve all the contradictions that he pretends to muster up in the terms whereby we express the holy Trinity: and let him shew any difference betwixt these cases if he can, only this, that far greater disparity ought to be allowed as to the propriety of words when terms belonging to men are spoke of God, than when what belongs to one of our senses is applied to another.

7. And now let the reader judge what occasion he had of thus insulting me, p. 1.

“But are you indeed,” says he to me, “so very weak as to think you move all the way to Rome, and are got thither as soon as you think of it? No, sir, whatever haste you may be in thither, you go no faster than your legs can carry you; and should you challenge all the philosophy in

“ the world, who have so little as not to know that  
“ when you think of Rome, or any other place, ’tis  
“ only the idea of it in your imagination which  
“ you contemplate, and not a local motion of your  
“ thoughts to it. In like manner, when we see the  
“ stars, our eyes move not up to them, but their ex-  
“ tended rays strike upon the eye. I see you have  
“ a head much fitter for entertaining and coining  
“ mysteries, than for explaining or defending ’em.  
“ It’s a wonder you did not think rather that  
“ Rome or Constantinople shift and come into your  
“ head ; and then, since in other cases a lesser ves-  
“ sel cannot contain a greater, nor a nutshell hold an  
“ house, you might wonder how your little head  
“ should hold such great cities ; and with the same  
“ philosophy infer, that what is a contradiction to  
“ nutshells is none to heads, and challenge all phi-  
“ losophy to reconcile it.”

Now, reader, has he not fully understood me, do you think, and answered me smartly ?

8. But will you see him freely confessing what he thus ridicules ? He says in this same p. 1,

“ Indeed there may be something attributed to  
“ one nature where there is nothing inconsistent or  
“ contradictory to it, while if attributed to another  
“ it might meet with something inconsistent, whence  
“ a contradiction will arise in the one and not in  
“ the other.”

Now this is the whole of what I have been contending for ; I desire no more of him : and having granted this, how can he deny that what is a contradiction in one nature, that is, of man, may not be so in another nature, that is, of God ? Or are there any two natures more distant and more differ-



ent than the nature of God and of a creature? Or do we understand the nature of God more perfectly and clearly than our own nature? Is it not reasonable then what I said, as he quotes my words, p. 2, “that we must not object contradictions in the incomprehensible nature of God from comparing it with our own, because we understand not his nature?” To which the Remarker says,

9. “I should grant this in an object of which we have no knowledge at all; but surely if I have some, though a partial knowledge of the infinite God, I may discern what is contradictory to that little knowledge of him; nor is any thing more usual or just than to deny such or such a doctrine because incompatible to the divine attributes, to his spirituality, eternity, goodness, &c.”

To which I reply, that the nature and attributes of any thing are different; we may know the attributes when we cannot know the nature; as we may see the river, but cannot reach the spring whence it flows. And this dispute of the Trinity is not about any of the attributes of God, but concerning his very nature and essence, and how his being is composed, (if I might use that word,) of which, I may say, we are totally ignorant; it is a light inaccessible to us, we know nothing of it at all, and therefore cannot charge contradiction in the revelation that is given to us of it. If we look directly upon the sun in its strength, we see nothing at all, it strikes us blind; but if we turn our backs, we discern the light that comes from it. The attributes of God are the rays of the sun, but his nature is the sun itself; we cannot look upon it, it is utter darkness to us through the excess of the light; we can dis-



cern nothing at all in it, or say it is thus or thus, or that this or that is contradictory to it. Alas! how little do we know of our own nature! We know it only by the effects and the qualities we find in ourselves: but what it is in itself we cannot tell, we are exceedingly in the dark; and so as to the nature of trees, flowers, plants, &c.: we find, by experience, such effects and virtues in them, but we know not the nature or essence of them; no, not of a pile of grass, why of that colour, shape, or virtue: how then can we know what the nature of God is? or can we say it is not rightly revealed to us in the holy scripture? Do we know of what composition our own souls are made? or how they act in us? Do we know any thing at all of the soul but by the effects? We know we think, therefore we conclude we have a soul; but what that soul is in itself we know not: yet we would know the nature of God!

10. This brings me to a criticism of the Remarker upon the parallel I made use of concerning the three faculties of the soul. He says, p. 3, “that the memory is not another faculty, but only an act of the understanding.” Now I thought that the understanding was only conversant about what was then present before it; and that the memory brought back past things, and so made them present to the understanding: whence a man may have a good understanding and yet a bad memory. Do we say of the understanding that it forgets? I take truth or falsehood to be the objects of the understanding; but is love or hatred so? A man may have an aversion, and not know the reason of it:

Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare:

Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.

Are there antipathies in the understanding? I think this is generally attributed to the will; and it is agreed that it is a distinct faculty from the understanding. And if there be different faculties in the same soul, it answers all the purpose for which I brought that parallel. Nay, if it be but so thought, it does as well for me to solve the objection about contradiction, that men should not think a plurality of persons in God to be a contradiction when the same difficulty arises from a plurality of faculties in the soul: for three faculties can no more be one faculty, than three persons can be one person; and yet these different faculties make up but one and the selfsame soul.

11. But I have sufficiently cautioned that I intend not to bring any proof from these parallels, nor lay the stress of the cause upon them; yet I thought them not altogether useless, to shew men how far they may mistake in charging contradictions from one nature to another.

12. I have likewise told that no parallel in created natures can answer exactly or come up to the nature of God, only point him out at a great distance, and with infinite disproportion; and therefore that we must not argue strictly from the one to the other: yet the Remarker will not observe this, but he argues of the persons of God as of human persons; and says, p. 4, “If three divine persons be like three human persons—and if three divine persons should as properly be accounted three gods, as three human persons can, in strict speech, be accounted three men”—thence he infers “three gods,” &c.

He cannot, I think, but see the fallacy of this argument, after all that I have said; but he will not

see it; he will still argue strictly from the word *person*, and apply it to God in the same manner that it is used among men. If he would apply the word *Father* so, (which himself gives to God,) or God's being said *to repent, to grieve, &c.* what work would he make! what contradictions might he infer! His brother Socinian, Mr. Biddle, (as I have shewed,) turned Anthropomorphite by this sort of argument, and from man being said to be made after the image of God, held God to have a body, and of human shape. And he might as well have made him a bird too, because there is mention made of his wings and feathers! This savours not of the sagacity the Psal. xci. 4. Socinians think peculiar to themselves.

13. From the like gross conceptions the Remarker, p. 7, raises difficulties how a begotten being can be God, thinking of begetting after the manner of men; and then the Father must be in time, as well as in nature, before the Son. And it having been told him that, supposing the sun to be eternal, its light would be as eternal, he replies, p. 7, that this parallel will not do, for that the light, which, says he, "you call an effect of the sun, is indeed the very sun itself, so may well be as old." By which the very sun we see in the firmament, and is many times bigger than the whole earth, can creep through a cranny, and be all of it in this room, and in a thousand other places at the same time! This will help transubstantiation not a little: but is it so indeed that this subtile Socinian can see no difference betwixt the very sun itself and the light that flows from it? it is then time to have done disputing with him: and he runs into as great absurdities to get rid of these



parallels as he charges upon me for making use of them.

He says, as before quoted, sect. 4, that “ when we see the stars, our eyes move not up to them, but their extended rays strike upon the eye.” But if the rays or the light be the very star itself, then the very star itself strikes upon the eye. Let him consider whether there is any thing so very gross as this in any of the parallels I have produced ; and on whose side lies the poor philosophy and shallow reasoning.

14. Therefore, leaving this subject, I will now only answer an objection he makes from scripture, wherein he says, p. 2, “ God Almighty is perpetually expressed in the singular number, under one, “ He, Me, Thou, &c.” Now, lest the reader of these Remarks should be carried away with this, I must mind him, that this Socinian says this, without taking any notice of the texts I have given to the contrary in the Second Dialogue, p. 145, &c. beginning with the first of Genesis, where God is spoken of in the plural as well as the singular number, according to the Hebrew ; he is there called *Gods* and *Us*, as well as *God* and *Me* : and is he not spoken of in the plural number, in the Form of Baptism, in the “ name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ?” The Remarker ought to have marked this, and ought not to have put the objection over again, without saying something to the answer had been made to it.

If this sheet gives him not full satisfaction, I shall be willing to hear from him again.



# A R E P L Y

TO THE

## VINDICATION OF THE REMARKS

ON THE

FIRST DIALOGUE ON THE SOCINIAN CONTROVERSY.

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SIR,

1. **Y**OUR compliments to me of “poor, weak arguments, foolish, absurd, ridiculous,” &c. would have made me believe you had been very angry with me, but that at the close of your letter you assure me, that “you are acted herein by no passion.”

2. Yet you seem moved at what I say of Mr. Biddle, who revived the old exploded heresy of the Anthropomorphites, who held God to have a body, and of the shape of a man; for so they understood our being made after the image of God, to be meant of the shape of his body. Was your concern for Mr. Biddle because he was likewise a Socinian, and one of your principal writers? But this looks the more suspicious, and less to your advantage, because of what you say, p. 5, “I may doubt whether God “be a pure spirit, or be only a gross body.”

3. But now, sir, as to your Vindication, I might give this short reply, that it is one general mistake of my Answer from top to bottom. You begin, p. 1. with supposing that I admit there are irreconcil-

able contradictions in my scheme of faith ; and therefore, in order to support my notions, I endeavour to support the credit of plain contradictions ; intimating that we conceive of God no otherwise than as a blind man of sight, i. e. with a mind full of contradictions. And you go on with this notion, and repeat it often every page, that I allow of contradictions in the holy Trinity, and defend them.

4. If you had said I had failed in rescuing our doctrine of the holy Trinity from those contradictions charged upon it by the Socinians, you had only found fault with my performance : but to say that I allow of these contradictions, and defend them, when I expressly oppose them, and you cannot but know was the very purpose and intent of my undertaking, has something in it for which I want a proper name. All I shall say is, that if this mistake was not wilful, I have no dangerous adversary.

5. But how came you to suppose that a blind man thinks sight to be a contradiction ? If he thought so, he could not believe there was or could be any such thing. There is no blind man but believes there is such a thing as sight, because others tell him so who have it : but he knows not what it is, nor can we explain it to him ; for we can explain it no otherwise than by allusion to some of those senses which he has : and the senses are so different from each other, that the perception of one cannot be apprehended by the perception of any of the others ; and if we apply the one strictly to the other, we shall fall into contradictions like that I mentioned, of explaining the progress of sight by that of legs : which is a contradiction to a man born blind, while he conceives of sight after the manner of the motion of

legs; and it would be the same contradiction for the eyes as for the legs to move two yards as soon as one. Therefore the blind man does not suppose that the eyes move as the legs do, for then sight would be a downright contradiction to him, and he could not believe it; but he knows this is made use of only as an allusion to him; and he supposes that the perception of sight is quite of a different nature from the motion of legs, and that there is no contradiction in it, though he knows not what it is.

6. And thus it is that we conceive of the holy Trinity: we know it is of a quite different nature from three men, or any three upon earth; yet we must speak of it after the manner of men, for we can talk no otherwise. But if we will therefore apply strictly every thing of three men to the three persons in the Deity, we shall fall into manifold contradictions, like the blind man who would measure sight by the motion of legs: but then, as the blind man believes sight, and that there is no contradiction in it, and is sensible that the seeming contradiction arises only from pursuing the parallel of legs and eyes too strictly; so we believe that there is no contradiction at all in the holy Trinity of God, but that the seeming contradiction arises only from our applying too strictly what is spoke of God after the manner of men: for we have no words whereby we can speak properly of God, as we have none whereby to speak of sight or colours to a blind man.

7. I once discoursed with a man born blind, and having explained sight to him as well as I could, I at last asked him what he thought it was like? and after considering a little, he said he thought it was



like a wheel. "A wheel!" said I; "why a wheel?" "Because," said he, "you tell me that sight perceives several things at once, and things distant as soon as things nearer hand: now when a wheel turns swift round, I feel all the parts of it almost at the same time, and the furthest part of the rim is presently next to me." I profess I could not mend his notion, nor find any word whereby to express sight more to his apprehension. Now then suppose the word *wheel* were pitched upon to express sight to men born blind, yet they would not think sight to be a wheel, nor think there were those contradictions in sight which might evidently be inferred from its being a wheel; because they would know at the same time that it was but a borrowed word, by way of allusion, and not strictly and properly belonging to sight, nor fully expressive of it.

8. And may we not make the like allowance as to the word *person* when applied to God? We have not a word more proper: and yet if we apply it to God, with all the properties and qualifications belonging to men, what mistakes and even contradictions may we fall into! which yet will not imply any contradiction in God; but what so seems arises only from our conceiving of God after the manner of men.

9. If you then ask me why we make use of such words? I answer, because we have no better: and, (as you say, p. 7, of God's being said *to repent, grieve, &c.*) "I should not dare to use them of God, "if the scripture had not done it." If the scripture had not told us of three in heaven, we had never spoke of a Trinity: but when these things are revealed to us, we are obliged to receive them, and not



to be pert in charging contradictions upon them ; which, after all, arises only from the weakness and overweening of our own understanding, and our mistakes in measuring the nature of God proportionable to our own.

10. Now, sir, I hope you will find reason to alter the state of the question, as you put it upon me, p. 2, where you say to me, “ You are not to shew “ that a seeming contradiction may be none, (for “ who knows not that ?) but that a real contradic- “ tion may, in some cases, be none.” Sir, I utterly except against this state of the question ; it is none of mine : I never undertook to prove that a contradiction is not a contradiction ; that would make me as ridiculous as you have called me ; and you might triumph over me as you pleased, if you could fix this upon me. Did I ever say that three persons in God was a contradiction ? Have I not taken pains to shew that there is no contradiction in it ? and that the seeming contradiction arises only from our explaining it after the manner of three persons among men ? And have I not given reasons against thus explaining it ? Whether my reasons are good or bad is not now the question : but this is sufficient to clear me from your charge of maintaining that “ a real contradiction may, in some cases, be “ none.” There is no case wherein a contradiction is not a contradiction ; but there may be a real contradiction in one case, which in another case may be but a seeming contradiction : and I hope these ought to be distinguished.

11. I endeavoured to illustrate this by the instance of the blind man ; which you thus retort upon me, p. 2, where you repeat these words as

mine, “ ’Tis impossible to explain to him what sight “ is, so as to reconcile it from being a contradiction “ to him.” “ I answer,” say you, “ that a true and just “ explication of it will not contain any real contra- “ diction ; ’tis from his mistake alone.”

Now pray, sir, how is this an answer to me ? Have not I said the same ? “ ’Tis from his mistake “ alone.” That is true : but whence came this mistake ? was it not from the explication was given him of sight ? But you say that “ a true and just “ explication of it will not contain any real contra- “ diction.” I have tried my hand, and I confess I cannot give a true and just explication of sight to a man born blind : neither have you ; which you ought to have done when you found fault with mine. But it is not yet too late ; pray, sir, do it ; and give such a true and just explication of sight as will not contain any real contradiction to the blind man : I mean a contradiction in your explanation, not in the nature of the thing ; for the blind man himself does not think sight to be a contradiction, for he wishes for it, and bemoans the want of it. But he will find real contradictions in whatever explanation of it, I dare say, you can give by allusion to any of his four senses : yet he will not think the fifth sense, which he wants, to be any contradiction, only that it cannot be explained to him ; and he believes what he does not understand. Yet the Socinians make this absurd and ridiculous when we apply it to the like humbling of our understanding as to the incomprehensible nature of God ! The blind man believes what he knows not, nor can understand, from the testimony of other men, who tell him they have sight ; which yet they cannot explain to him with-

out manifold contradictions as to him; all which hinders not his belief of it, for he considers his own defect. But we will not receive the testimony of God in the revelations he has given us of his holy Trinity, because we understand it not, nor can explain it so as to be free from all difficulty according to our apprehension of things! We will consider nothing of our own defects, in seeking to comprehend what we own to be incomprehensible!

If you say that the doctrine of the Trinity is not revealed in the holy scriptures, and that this is the dispute; then let it be the dispute: that is the subject I have undertaken in these Dialogues; and that the holy scriptures were so understood in the first and purest ages. But as to your objections about contradiction, I hope I have given sufficient satisfaction; and that it is made yet plainer by these repeated objections of yours.

If I have used too many words, it is from that difficulty you put upon your own understanding to mistake my meaning, for I believe it was plain enough to others before: but I grudge not my pains to you.

12. Was it from this willingness to mistake that you charge me, p. 3, with saying, “that a contradiction is sometimes no contradiction, which is what “you said,” say you to me? Now I dare say I never said it, because I never thought it; nor can any one think it. Why did you not quote where I said so? or else tell how you did infer it? Though your inferring and my saying are two things. Is this the way you take to make me ridiculous?

13. In the same p. 3, you expostulate, “why God



“ should impose upon a generation of men born blind  
“ a long creed, of the nature of light and refractions,  
“ and colours, and a system of optics,” &c.

I suppose, sir, you do not mean this for an argument: and as to the reflection upon our Creed, you will find more spite than sense in it. The doctrine of the Trinity was necessary towards that of the satisfaction, which is the heart of Christianity, as I have shewed in the Sixth Dialogue, p. 346, &c. And it is revealed short and plain, as a great mystery, not to be too nicely inquired into: and it had remained in the plain native scripture terms to this day, but for the Arians and other heretics, who invented new distinctions to evade this article of faith, and forced the church to follow them herein, in order to confute them, and preserve the faith: yet these now charge those terms and distinctions upon the church!

14. You say to me, p. 4, “ You need not pretend  
“ to wonder how I can deny that what is a contra-  
“ diction in one nature may yet be none in another.”  
I should wonder more if I did not deny such an absurdity.

And yet in the same page you say to me, “ You  
“ know they (the Unitarians) don’t deny that some  
“ things may be contradictions if affirmed of men,  
“ which are none when said of God.”

Is not this the very absurdity you wonder you should not deny? yet do not you confess it? that  
“ what is a contradiction in one nature may be none  
“ in another.” This is absurd in me; but when you say it, it is easy!

15. I had said that it was a contradiction to men that past or future should be present, but that it was



not so with God, to whom all things are present. To which you reply, p. 4,

“ That it is no contradiction for a past thing to  
“ be objectively present in the idea—and that so it  
“ is with God, who does not behold the chaos as  
“ now existing void of form, nor does he judge  
“ Adam and Eve to be now in their first innocence:  
“ I doubt some are fond of making abundance of  
“ needless contradictions, on purpose to keep some  
“ darling absurdities of their own in countenance.”

Sir, this was entering upon your triumph too soon; for you are not yet quite escaped from me: you by this make no more of all things being present with God, than that he has a good memory, and forgets nothing. But is there no more in the case? Is his duration then by succession of time, like ours? Is part of his duration lost, and irrecoverably gone, like our yesterday? And does it now remain only objectively present in his memory? Does he now only remember what he was many years ago? If he can remember, or has a memory, then some of his time is past. We say eternity is but one instant; but how it comprehends time within it we cannot tell; for we can speak of it no otherwise than in words of time: but it will be the same when time shall be no more as it was before time had a being; there is no past or future with God, and things are present to him otherwise than by way of memory. And if we say the same of men, it will be contradiction upon contradiction: and so it will be if we measure his eternity by our time. And as daring is it to measure his nature by our nature, or his persons by our persons; and to say this or that must be contradictory in him.

because it is so with us: when we know that the words by which we express him are proper only to us, and applied to him but by way of allusion; and as improper as when we speak of his eternity in our words of time.

16. Your fifth page is taken up with arguments, shewing that though we know not the nature of God perfectly, yet we know so much of it, at least negatively, that we may discover contradictions to it in several particulars, which would argue imperfection or mutability in God, as that he should lie, or cease to be, &c.; all which I readily grant. But then you insist that this makes against my position, that we are not to object contradictions in a nature we do not understand, that is, wherein we do not understand it; as in a blind man's judging of colours, by which I explained it. I grant there are general contradictions may be said of any thing, as that the same thing should be and not be at the same time, &c.: but these are not contradictions that respect any particular nature more than another: and my subject was concerning a contradiction in a particular nature, and this inferred from a seeming parallel instance in another nature. In which case, I say, we must understand both natures, else we cannot draw an inference from the one to the other; as a blind man cannot argue from legs to eyes, nor infer contradictions from the one to the other, because he understands not the nature of sight, and therefore cannot judge: far less can we judge of the personalities of God by the personalities of men, because of the infinitely greater distance and diversity of their natures.

To this you say, (*ibid.*) "that though we cannot

“argue from the resemblance of the one to the  
“other, yet thus much we may conclude in the ge-  
“neral, that three persons cannot be but one per-  
“son :” which I never denied.

“Especially,” say you to me, “when yourself  
“had granted to the Socinian, that it is a contra-  
“diction to say three persons (in God) are but  
“one person, which I represented to you was  
“what the Socinians charged your scheme with ;  
“and therefore you were bound (but would not at-  
“tempt it) to shew that this contradiction is not  
“chargeable upon you.”

But, sir, how could you say I did not attempt it ?  
when at the same time you insist that I granted it  
to be a contradiction, that three persons (in God)  
are but one person : then, surely, I did not say that  
three persons were but one person ; nor thought our  
scheme chargeable with this. In the First Dialogue,  
p. 52, you will find the contents on the margin to  
be, that there is “no contradiction in those terms  
“by which we express the holy Trinity.” Did I  
not then attempt to shew that this contradiction is  
not chargeable upon us ? And your Socinian does  
very little understand the Christian scheme, when  
he charges it with holding three persons to be but  
one person. How he will infer it from that scheme  
is one thing ; but to charge the scheme with it is  
ridiculous, when the scheme does expressly deny it.

And pray consider whether all those arguments,  
by which you would infer this from our scheme, do  
not proceed from the resemblance you make betwixt  
the personalities of men and of God ? which you  
have granted me ought not to be done. You argue  
from Peter, James, and John, to Father, Son, and



Holy Ghost. And here it is I shew you the disparity, and that no true arguing can lie, if we will carry on the comparison in all its parts, and that strictly and properly : for those words that are proper to Peter, James, and John, are not so to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; and yet we can use none other : but then we must not argue strictly from the one to the other, knowing that those words which are proper to the one are to be understood but by way of allusion (and that at an infinite distance) when applied to the other.

You say, *ibid.* (p. 5.) “ I don’t, in this case, object “ a contradiction in God, from a supposition that “ his nature is resembled by mine.” Now I will undertake to shew, that all the contradictions you object as to the holy Trinity do every one of them proceed from this very supposition : and if so, then you have determined the cause against yourself. You say that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost cannot be one God. Why so? Because Peter, James, and John cannot be one man. Is not this arguing from the supposition that the nature of God is resembled by ours? And so it is of all the rest of your objections ; there is none of them but what is built upon this supposition which you disclaim.

Now, sir, keep from these contradictions you object merely from the resemblance you suppose betwixt the nature of God and our nature ; and you and I will not differ as to other contradictions may be said of God ; as, that he should be and not be at the same time ; that he should not be infinite, eternal, &c. ; for these contradictions are not inferred from any resemblance betwixt his nature and ours.



17. This will answer the absurdities you would infer from our doctrine, p. 6 ; as that it would bring men to scepticism, when the “ most absurd things “ that can be said of God are not to be confuted ; “ because not knowing his nature, we must not say “ any thing is in contradiction to it—for you can’t “ tell whether a denial of a trinity be not consistent “ with a trinity, according to you, because it is “ about the nature of God ; and, not understanding “ that, we must not object contradictions here.”

I repeat this only to shew how wildly you run riot ; for it is answered above : because I would not have you infer contradictions in God from the resemblance you suppose (and yet deny it) betwixt his nature and ours ; therefore you think nothing whatsoever can be contradictory to God ; that is, you will have no God at all, unless you can have such a one as is in all respects like unto men, and whose nature must be measured by their nature. You say to me, (*ibid.*)

18. “ Nay, since you say we know not the nature “ of man, (perhaps he may be three persons and one “ man,) nor of trees, or a pile of grass, we cannot “ then urge contradictions about them, and so can- “ not argue about the nature of any thing—And so “ we can prove or be certain of nothing.

“ Nay, we cannot confute transubstantiation ; for “ we know not the nature of bread and flesh, (for “ sense cannot reach that,) and so may not object “ contradictions in the case.”

Thus you, sir ; and you are the first man ever I heard talk at this rate ; it looks like some discomposure. But I will turn it all upon yourself : therefore tell me, do you pretend to know the nature and

essence of these things which you say sense cannot reach? If not, (as I presume you will say, but am not sure, considering the flights you have taken already,) then, sir, it lies upon you to answer all these extravagancies you have put to me; for I am not answerable for them more than yourself: as to your objection of transubstantiation, I refer you to what I have said of it in the First Dialogue, p. 73, &c.; and for all the rest look you to it.

19. You next object the terms in the Creed, which is answered before, sect. 13; but you add, “Why you should be oppressed or anathematized for your dissent from these terms, when you assent to the text whence they are inferred?”

This is the plea of all heretics; but it returns upon themselves; they first invent wicked and heterodox glosses upon such texts, which cannot be detected by their saying they assent to the texts, for that is still in their own sense, and they delude many: this obliges the church to make use of terms to obviate these false glosses, and to preserve the faith. The Devil quoted texts to our blessed Saviour, but with wicked intent: it is the meaning, and not the letters, is the faith. The Quakers can repeat the whole Creed, and yet not mean one word of it in the Christian sense; but all that is said of God, and of Christ, his birth, passion, death, resurrection, ascension, and coming to judgment, they turn to what they call *their light within*: therefore when we deal with these men we must add new terms even to the Creed, to obviate their lurking heresy; instead of *Christ* we must say *the outward Christ*, because they hold none but what is inward, that is, their light within themselves; and so in

many other cases : therefore it is not the church, but the heretics are to be charged with this.

20. Your third objection, p. 6, is where you say to me,

“ You could not confute the pagan notions of  
“ the divine nature your way : supposing they held  
“ many gods, or that there is but one divine nature,  
“ and all the thousands of particular gods but a  
“ multitude of persons in that one nature, (as you  
“ suppose many men in but one human nature,)  
“ you could not confute them, by the light of reason  
“ at least, because you allow not contradictions to  
“ be an argument here.”

This is still running upon your old mistake, for I do allow contradictions to be an argument here, and say that you can find none such in the doctrine of the holy Trinity. The pagans added daily to the number of their gods, and deified a man to-day who was no god yesterday ; and therefore they could not think that the thousands of their particular gods were persons inherent and essential in the divine nature, for then they must have been always so. And I could confute them by the light of reason, if they thought that any thing could be made God in the proper sense, for that God cannot be made. I would confute them by the same argument I do the Socinians in the like case, who say that *Christ was made God*, as I have shewed in my Second Letter, p. 42. So that the Socinians and the pagans come in here upon the like foot ; nay, the pagans have the advantage in reason, for they did not think those whom they made gods to be the supreme God, but they had several ranks and classes of inferior gods, who had particular provinces as-



signed them under the one and supreme God: but the Socinians will have Christ to be the one and supreme God, and that he was made so; as the Racovian Catechism says, *Unum eundemque secum effecit*; that "God made him one and the self-same with himself;" on which account they pay divine worship to Christ "the same as to God himself;" *Eo pacto quo ipsi Deo*.

Now I would desire the Vindicator to tell me how a Socinian could confute a pagan; for the pagan might say to him, If one can be made a God, why not another, and another, to the end of the chapter? and he might charge the Socinian with downright polytheism; for if one be made God, he must be different from him that made him; and so there are two Gods. If you say he is the same, then it will follow that the same God was made and not made; was before himself, and made himself; was once not God, yet always was God; and many more such like palpable contradictions.

By this time, sir, you will be sensible what advantage you have gained by bringing in this argument from the pagans.

21. You come to your philosophy at the end of p. 6, which is very extraordinary. You will not let the understanding and the memory be two faculties, because of the parallel for which I brought it. I said that the understanding was conversant about what was present to it: you answer, that things past may be made present to it, as when one is told of things past which he did not know before: but then this is the first time they were present to the understanding. I see no opposition you give to me in this.



I asked you if the understanding is said to forget? you answer here, As much as the memory. But this is a language of your own; the world says otherwise. If a man forgets a thing, it is common to say, My memory fails me; by which is not meant that he is a fool, and has no understanding; on the contrary, as I told you, it is a common saying, "that the greatest wits have the worst memories:" and we see in old men their memory fail, yet their understanding as good as ever.

But you fall unmercifully upon me, (beginning of p. 7.) and say to me,

"Nay, you are so tenacious, that whether there be really three faculties in the soul or not, you say it does as well for you if it be but thought so; right or wrong, 'tis all one to you; you will hold to the conclusion, let what will become of the premises: this is true courage!"

Not so very stout neither; for I see no danger in it. But is it really so, that you cannot find out the reason of this? Is it for want of memory or understanding? But I will try to clear your eyesight: know then the meaning is, that men do not use to think contradictions; therefore whatever becomes of your dispute and mine about the three faculties of the soul, yet if it be a common opinion, (which you will not deny,) it will follow that it is no contradiction whether it be true or false; unless you think it is common to men to believe contradictions; and then objecting it as to the Trinity will be no great matter; it will be no more than what men do every day in twenty other things.

I gave you another instance, of which you take no notice; therefore to refresh your understanding

(I mean your memory, for you know it is all one) I will send you to it again; you will find it p. 55. of the First Dialogue; (which, I suppose, you have read, because you made remarks upon it, though that does not always follow;) there you see an old saying, before you or I were born, “that the soul is all “in all, and all in every part of the body.” I suppose you have heard of *tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte*. Now, as to my present purpose, I am not concerned whether this or the more modern hypothesis takes place: but this is not charged with contradiction, it was the common and received opinion, and maintained by great and wise philosophers; and it would be a flat contradiction to say the same of body, that it could be in several places at once; therefore that may be a contradiction in one nature which is none in another. This is the use I had to make of it.

I suppose, sir, you think that the soul does not consist of parts, nor can be cut or sliced in pieces like a body, and that it would be a contradiction to affirm this of the soul, which yet is very easy as to body; and therefore you will grant that a contradiction cannot be inferred from the one to the other, because of the difference of their natures: far less, say I, can a contradiction be inferred in God from the nature of man.

Now, sir, is this plain to you? Have I beat it into your head at last? I would not have used so many words to another. Was it your memory or understanding that forgot it?

But pray, sir, tell me, whether would you rather be thought a man of a weak memory or of a shallow understanding? It will be in vain for you to

say they are the same, for the world makes a difference; and if you will not choose, they will choose for you.

Therefore be not tenacious, (as you advise me;) for if it be but thought so, your work is done: and shew not your courage in despising this as an inconsiderable argument; I have all the world against you, and they will distinguish betwixt your memory and understanding; and if you will not let the one be a little treacherous, they will think the other very simple.

22. Of which you have given a suspicion in what you say here, that three faculties in one soul will be no parallel for what I brought it, "nor will it resemble," say you to me, "what the Unitarians object to you, how three persons can be but one person; unless, instead of three faculties making but one soul, you had shewn that three faculties make but one faculty." I say this is strange forgetfulness in you, (for I accuse not your understanding,) when in my Answer to your Remarks, and the very place you are now upon, sect. 10. p. 409, I say "that three faculties can no more be one faculty, than three persons can be one person;" and you have quoted me here, p. 5, saying, "that it is a contradiction to say three persons (in God) are but one person." Yet all this you forget; and here, p. 6, you object to us Christians, that we hold "three persons to be but one person;" and immediately after, in the beginning of p. 7, you say, "it does not answer the parallel in that point (of three being but one in the same sense) for which I bring it." Strange memory again! Did I ever bring a parallel to prove, or did I ever say, that



“three can be but one in the same sense?” Have I not been careful to explain myself in this, that God is not three and one in the same respect? which I grant would be a contradiction: and this very contradiction I have fairly fixed upon one set of your Unitarians, in my First Letter, p. 29; let this Vindicator rid them of it if he can; let him read p. 52. of the First Dialogue, upon which he remarks, and see whether I have not fully expressed myself as to this of *the same sense* or *the same respect*: but he will not remember it, and will go on to charge contradictions by putting those terms upon us which we disown and utterly condemn.

23. In the same p. 7, he is quarrelling with the word *person*, and says,

“If you assign to the sacred Three all the various parts and distinctions of persons in a proper sense, and for that reason do give ’em these characters, how can considering men think you don’t design by it to give ’em an idea of three proper persons in one eternal He?”

Sir, you have forgot again; you said, p. 5, “I don’t object a contradiction in God from a supposition that his nature is resembled by mine.” And here you object it from nothing else but from that supposition. What else do you mean by putting the word *proper* to person? Is it not intended to denote an human person; that is, whatever is proper to it? And is not this the meaning of those parts and distinctions of persons you speak of, that there should be the same parts and distinctions in the persons of God as in the persons of men? Would you then have parts in God, because it is so with men? Why else do you put in that word?



I doubt not as the unity of the nature of God is infinitely more perfect than the unity of man, so that the distinction of the persons of the Deity is likewise more perfect than the distinctions of the persons of men, but in a manner ineffable, incomprehensible to us, and not to be measured by the various parts and distinctions of our persons: from which method of argument, though you disown it, yet you cannot refrain; you may as well infer sexes in God, whom you call an eternal *he*, then not a *she*. Do you mean this by the various parts and distinctions in human persons? And for that reason do you give these characters to God? Or is it because you cannot express him otherwise? Then you must not stick too close to your proper sense, that God should be like our persons in a proper sense, with all our various parts, &c. This comes too near your friend Mr. Biddle. See section 2.

24. But if these expressions of God are not proper, then you infer they must be figurative; and you quote me saying, that "the texts which speak of the holy Trinity are not figurative," Dial. I. p. 74, where I was speaking of the comparison the Socinians make betwixt the Trinity and transubstantiation, and would infer the like absurdities from the one as the other. Upon which I shewed several figures in the words of institution of the holy sacrament, as where the cup is put for the wine in it, *continens pro contento*, and several others; but I said there was no figures in the texts which reveal the holy Trinity. What figure is there in saying, *Baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost?* and that *these three are one?* and that *the Word was God?* I

desire you to name the figure. Pray did you mean any figure when you call God *a he*? And what figure was it? But I find by this argument that you would have it taken strictly and properly, as you speak; and by the various parts you would have in God, and properly too, and by giving us leave, p. 5, at least to “doubt whether God be a “pure spirit, or be only a gross body,” I cannot help doubting whether you are not an anthropomorphite. I will not put it upon you, but your expressions favour it; and if I guess wrong, yet this you will see by it, that when we speak of God in words relating to man, (for we have none other,) we must beware of taking those words in a strict and proper sense, else we may be betrayed into gross and fatal errors. There are words that are not proper, (for want of better,) as in the present case, and yet are not figurative. What figure is it to say that eternity is an instant? yet we are sure the expression is not proper; nor can we mend it, because we have no word that is proper whereby to express eternity, or a perpetual duration without succession of time.

25. But you sum up the matter in the next paragraph, and say, “so that the difficulty is no other, “than how a derived dependent being can be God;” which the Unitarians insist on much.

To which I answer, first, that if the Unitarians insist on this, they must quite discard the Socinians, and renounce the Racovian Catechism, which hitherto has been their text: this is shewed, sect. 20. And yet you, sir, justify the Socinians and Unitarians in common, and use these words promiscuously, as meaning the same thing. I desire there-

fore that you would distinguish these, and let us know what side you are of: let not the world be confounded with two sticks that say they are one, and yet are direct opposites, and in flat contradiction to each other. The Socinians say that the Unitarians are no Christians; and the Unitarians think the Socinians to be rank idolaters; as I have shewed in my Second Letter, Numb. III. p. 40, &c.

26. But now, secondly, as to your difficulty itself, I must refer you back again to my First Dialogue, on which you have made remarks; there, sect. III. is a direct answer to your difficulty, which you have overlooked. I told you, p. 59, that if it were essential to a man to be a father, (as we say it is in God,) the son must be as old as the father, and yet derivative from him: of this you take no notice.

But I gave another illustration, that of light and heat in the sun, which proceed from the sun, and yet are as old as it. To which you say in your Remarks, p. 7, that the "light is indeed the very sun itself, so may well be as old." To which I said in my Answer, p. 411, that there must be a difference, because the light can break through a little cranny, which the sun cannot. To this you reply in your Vindication, p. 7, that the light is not the whole sun, only a part of it, and that this part may creep through a cranny, &c. And you make yourself very merry with me upon this occasion, and tell me I have derided you to my cost! But, sir, I must have a little of your help still. For if a part be taken from a body, it is less than it was: and considering what vast parts of the sun (if light be a part) have been taken from it by its continual shining ever since it was made, it must needs be



much less than it was. One would think it should have been worn out by this time! And the parts it has lost, by all the light that ever has been in the world, must be much greater and many more than what remains! Besides all the heat, too, that has come from the sun—for I suppose you will allow the heat to be a part of the sun as well as the light. And then here has been consumption enough to have wasted a hundred suns! and the sun had sweated himself to death long before this by all these effluvia you speak of! You say the “streams of light are a part of that huge luminous mass:” but if it had been ten times as huge those streams (if parts of it) had run it dry, for they are much more than the fountain! And the river is bigger than the ocean it runs into!

Then, again, if a man takes the dimensions of any body, does he not measure all the parts of it? else it is not a true survey. Now if the light be a part of the sun, what a vast body will this make! even as far as the light of the sun extends! And by this the sun will be as big as the firmament in which it moves, and contains not only the sun, but the moon, and innumerable stars, which all receive their light from the sun, besides the whole earth and all the air. And they say there are some stars bigger than the sun itself—but that must be only bigger than that small part of it we see in the firmament! And it must be much the smallest part, in comparison of those other parts of it which fill the whole firmament!

And will not the same reason make the light of a candle a part of the candle? And then when a candle is lighted it increases wonderfully, and can



fill a great hall! And when it is put out it loses more parts than would make ten thousand candles, and yet is never the lesser, but just the same candle it was before!

Sir, suppose I light you down stairs with a candle in my hand, is part of that candle in your hand because you have a handful of the light of it?

And will you rather struggle with all this than admit of any parallel which may reconcile the doctrine of the holy Trinity to the apprehensions of men, and save it from those contradictions you charge upon it?

You despise the parallels I have made use of, and have taken a great deal of pains to fix absurdities upon them. But whether you have not fallen into greater, to avoid them, I leave to your cooler thoughts; and whether you have not derided me to your own cost; and if you have taken from me the occasion yet to say, O subtle Socinian! and to return to you the advice you give me, when in the conclusion of your farce you say to me,

“ I heartily wish, sir, you would entertain the  
“ coffee-houses for one year with a course of your  
“ philosophy; I dare promise you many admirers;  
“ and when that has prevailed, no doubt but your  
“ divinity will go off.”

27. After this you say (for I would miss none of your arguments) that there is one text, Psal. xlv. 7, where the word *Elohim* is used in the singular number, (for which I will take your word at present,) but you deny not that it is generally taken in the plural; which is sufficient to overthrow your objection, that God is always spoken of in the singular, as *I, Thou, He, &c.* And as to his being

mentioned likewise in the plural, you put it off with the modern style of princes, who say *we* for the greater majesty, as it is now thought. But I believe you will not find this fashion of style to have been so old as Moses : I remember it not in all the history of the Bible. And can any imagine that God at the creation should take the plural style to himself, and say, *Let us make man in our image, after our likeness*, in prospect only that the like plural style would be taken up by worldly princes ? Is it not much more probable that the princes should rather take it up, and think it more majestic, because it had been used by God himself ? But by this defence you own that God is spoken of in the plural as well as the singular number.

28. In your last paragraph, p. 8, you, who are against imposing terms, and for keeping strictly to the scripture language, take upon you to impose new terms of three infinite minds ; and this so peremptorily, that you say, “ till I state my notion ” (in these terms) “ all my comments on other texts “ are arrows shot at no mark : ” and as a general answer to them all, you say to me,

“ Your expositions are precarious, or go no higher “ than Arianism, or are obviated oft in the Socinian “ comments ; and in answering their texts you are “ as modest as if you had said nothing.”

Sir, I was not asking your character of my performance : if you had given any answer to what I have said, you should be welcome ; but this only shews you are angry, and that I have said enough to give you disturbance.

29. Your last demand of me, p. 8, is in these words ; “ Pray, sir, tell us whereabout your answer

“ is to the text, *of that day knoweth my Father only*, which some cannot find among your answered texts—And no text is more urged by the Unitarians.”

Sir, I will gratify you all I can: though if you had read but the first page of my Fourth Dialogue you might have satisfied yourself; for there I give one general answer to those texts which speak of the human infirmities of Christ, as his being passible, improvable, rewardable, &c.; where by *improvable* I meant the text you mention; and that when he spake those words, *that day* might not have been revealed to him; for he knew not all things at once. It is said, Luke ii. 52, *Jesus increased in wisdom and stature*, &c.: all which shew his state as to man, but have no relation to his divine nature, which communicated to his human as he thought fit.

30. You conclude thus to me,

“ I assure you I am acted herein by no passion, except it be a passionate desire of seeing our holy Christian religion rescued from the burden of contradictions.”

Sir, if you think the Socinians concerned in Christianity, or Christianity with them, and have so passionate a desire to see it rescued from the burden of contradictions, you would do well to consider sect. II. of my Preface to these Dialogues; for there you will find more flagrant and irreconcilable contradictions among the Socinians, and among the Unitarians too, than any they charge upon our doctrine; and then choose which you think most free from contradictions.

31. But I have one word more. If you were

acted herein by no passion or prejudice, what needed that sly insinuation you give, p. 4, of my being author of that book called the Regale, and coming in with that mob-objection of endeavouring to reconcile the Gallican and English churches? I wish I could reconcile all the churches in the world; but this was going out of your way to reach a blow at me: this had no relation to the dispute in which you and I were engaged; it was hauled in perfectly by head and shoulders: but you have told me I must not lay it upon passion or prejudice, and so I forgive you.

32. And now, sir, I have gone over your whole Vindication: I think I have left nothing in it which I have not answered; because you complained I had not answered your Remarks fully enough. I have used many more words than I thought necessary to intelligent readers; but I was resolved to make things plain, that you might not mistake my meaning (if possible) another time: and I shall be very willing to hear from you again how this pleases you.

I have divided mine into sections, that I might not ramble, but keep close to one thing at once: if you did the like, it would save you many repetitions.



# AN ANSWER

TO THE

EXAMINATION OF THE LAST DIALOGUE,

RELATING TO THE

SATISFACTION OF JESUS CHRIST,

IN A LETTER TO THE AUTHOR :

*With a Supplement in Answer to Mr. Clendon's Treatise  
of the word Person.*

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SIR,

SINCE you still continue your rude treatment of me, I will mind you no more of it, because I see you cannot help it.

I. Therefore without more prefacing I come to the point. Your great objection against the doctrine of the satisfaction is its seeming inconsistency with the free grace of God ; for thus you say in your first page, which is marked p. 3, “ They (the Socinians) can bear with any notions here, which don’t subvert the justice of God, or sully the glory of his free grace in the pardon of sin.” Again, you say at the end of p. 7,

“ It may perhaps appear, that the honour of God’s government and the ends of piety are at least as well provided for by free pardon as by an equivalent satisfaction. Certain it is, that love to God is the noblest root of all pious endeavours ; and as certain, that the less free grace we believe there

“ is in God’s pardon, the less we shall love him ; for  
“ *to whom little is forgiven, the same will love but*  
“ *little*, Luke vii. 47.”

Now, sir, if this argument proves any thing, it will infer, that if any condition be imposed towards our forgiveness, or any punishment, though never so little, be inflicted upon us for our sins, then we should love God the less ; for it is the less a free gratuitous pardon : nay, it cannot be perfectly free and gratuitous, if any thing at all be required of us for it ; and so, to use your own words, “ it will  
“ sully the glory of God’s free grace in the pardon  
“ of sin.”

How then came you to give this account of the dispute betwixt us and the Socinians, as you set it down, p. 3, where you say,

“ The most pinching and obvious argument which  
“ the Unitarians insist on, is, the inconsistency of a  
“ strict, equivalent, meritorious satisfaction, with free  
“ gratuitous pardon.”

In this you are pleased to call me very ignorant, and that none ever managed the matter more feebly or more unfairly, and that I “ have but just dipped  
“ into the controversy, and don’t so much as under-  
“ stand the true state of it.”

But this shall not put me off : I will pretend to understand so much, that a free gratuitous pardon (in the sense you mean it) is not only inconsistent with a strict, equivalent, meritorious satisfaction, but with any satisfaction, condition, or punishment whatsoever.

II. I think that the strict meritorious satisfaction of Christ is noways inconsistent with the free grace of God in the pardon of sin : for that as the justice

of God did require such a satisfaction, because less is no satisfaction, (for what is not a complete satisfaction is not a satisfaction,) so God's giving Christ to us to make this satisfaction was perfectly free and gratuitous in him, without any merit of ours, or claim that we could lay to it, and so we attribute our pardon to his free grace: thus the satisfaction is complete, and yet the grace perfectly free.

III. I come now, sir, to the answer you give to this. You say, p. 12, " Though all conditions are " not inconsistent with free grace, yet all strictly " meritorious are so." This you barely say, but offer not one word of proof: and I am not so ignorant as to accept your naked assertion without some reason for it. You bring in the case of ransom, and say, p. 13,

" And even where a ransom, in the most proper " sense, is given, it does not suppose an equivalent, " but whatever shall be agreed on: Exod. xxi. 30, " 32. Thirty shekels of silver was the ransom of " the most precious valuable life, if it happened to " be forfeited by the law there mentioned; which " was next to no consideration, if lives were as pre- " cious then as now."

But, sir, your *next to no consideration* will not do; for there was a consideration, and any consideration is inconsistent with a free gratuitous pardon. If I am obliged to pay thirty shekels to save my life, or to discharge a debt of ten thousand talents, no man can say that I was freely forgiven; because if I have not the shekels to pay, I must die the death, and am liable to the whole debt.

Sir, you do me a great credit to join me with the learned Dr. Stillingfleet in this argument; and I

must excuse your treatment of me, since you use him little better: you repeat an argument of his in these words, that “pardon was not inconsistent with “sacrifices of atonement, and why should it be more “inconsistent with the sacrifice of Christ?” To this you answer, p. 12, and say,

“’Tis not inconsistent with Christ’s sacrifice, but “with his meritorious equivalent satisfaction; and “therefore pardon agreed with the legal atonements, “because they were not a meritorious infinite satisfaction: and if Jews or Gentiles had thought so, “and yet owned a gratuitous remission, they were “as inconsistent as others now are.”

Neither do you, sir, own a gratuitous remission, when you confess that legal atonements, and our paying part of the debt, is necessary. But it seems the less meritorious the satisfaction is, it is the better with you: you quarrel not with the sacrifice of a beast, because it is not equivalent to the demerit of sin; but you cannot bear the sacrifice of Christ, because it is equivalent. How differently do you argue from St. Paul, who said it was *impossible for the blood of bulls and goats to take away sin*; and therefore that it was necessary a more noble sacrifice should come, which should be worthy to take away sin: and that the law was taken away, for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof; for that *if a law had been which could have given life, verily righteousness had been by the law*, and there had been no need of the gospel: none at all by your account, if any bargain would have done it, thirty shekels, or half a one, if so agreed, or the lifting of a straw, which would have made the remission more gratuitous. This I insisted upon at large in my last



Dialogue, to which you now answer, but have not taken the least notice of what I made the strength of the cause: and if you will read that Dialogue over again, you will find it a direct reply to this answer of yours; and that I was aware of all the objections you had to put, notwithstanding my ignorance in this controversy.

And here I might end my Answer to your long Examination, which, besides many repetitions, has nothing material in it that I have not already taken notice of, either in this or in the last Dialogue.

IV. But for your own information, (if you are willing,) and of others who are led away with these pretences of the Socinians, I will discover to you the false foundation whence all your arguments and objections flow; which is this; that you will argue strictly to the nature of God, from that resemblance of it which is found in the nature of man. This you owned to be unreasonable, and not fit to be done, in your Vindication of your Remarks on my First Dialogue, and of which I minded you in my Reply to your Vindication, and you have not thought fit yet to rejoin: but you fall into the same error again in this your Examination, and measure that justice which is in God by the faint resemblance of justice in man; and reckon of sin no otherwise than as a debt of money betwixt man and man: which because a man may remit without any satisfaction, thence you argue that there is no need of any satisfaction to be made to God for all our sins; though, as I told you, your comparison will fail even in this, because when a man remits a debt due to him, it is called an act of mercy, not of justice; for justice will require the uttermost farthing: and God being

justice in the abstract, consequently must exact, even by the necessity of his nature, whatever justice does require ; because he is not only just, as we say of men, that is, has some justice in him, but he is justice itself, and whatever belongs to the nature of justice belongs to the nature of God : and sin is contrary to his nature, far otherwise than a debt of money is to men : so that we cannot argue strictly and thoroughly from the one to the other. Yet there is a resemblance betwixt them in many things, and of use to us.

And as in a debt of money, if any part be exacted, such debt cannot be said to be freely forgiven ; so cannot we say that sin is freely forgiven, while we feel the punishment of it in all the miseries and afflictions of this life, in painful sickness, and death at the last.

Nor is there any other way whereby the pardon of our sin may be called perfectly free and gratuitous, but only in the perfectly free and gratuitous gift of God, in sending his Son to be a propitiation for our sins.

V. And there is no other reasonable account can be given for the death of Christ but as a propitiation : for neither as a teacher or example, or as a Mediator and Intercessor, was there any necessity for his dying. You say it was to confirm the truth of his doctrine ; but that does not confirm it, for some have died for errors : and the proof of that can go no further than that a man is strongly persuaded of the truth of what he teaches. And it is not to be supposed that God would have sent his Son to suffer so cruel a death, when there was no necessity at all for it ; this I called the millstone

of Socinianism, and insisted upon it in my last Dialogue; but you take no notice of it.

VI. You throw away a great deal of your wit in your pages 17 and 18, in talking of the persons of God as of the persons of men, (which, as I have before told you, you yourself condemn, and pretend not to argue at this rate.) You infer ridiculous consequences from one person paying a debt to another, and yet being the same person himself: this is measuring the nature of God by our own; which you confess to be a false and very fallacious way of reasoning: besides mistating the question, as if we affirmed several persons to be the same person, which we do not, and I have told you of it sufficiently before in my Reply to your Vindication; and that there was no absurdity you would infer from the doctrine of the Trinity, but what arose from concluding of the nature of God by the nature of man, which you yourself confess not to be just, yet you have no other argument.

There are similitudes and parallels from one nature to another, whence several inferences may be drawn, as betwixt body and soul, of which I have spoke largely before; but if we will run the matter to an absolute equality, and make them answer in every thing, we shall fall into manifold contradictions, as that the body may be in several places at once, because it is said of the soul that it is all in all, and all in every part of the body at the same time.

Such a pursuing of parallels there is in your comparing the satisfaction made to God for sin, with one man's paying money to another, or a man's being said to satisfy himself by enabling another to



make the satisfaction : this is arguing strictly from the persons of men to the persons of God, which you own to be unreasonable, yet cannot leave it. Did any ever say or think that there was an exact parallel betwixt the persons of men and of God, so as to answer in every point? And without this supposed, all you have said comes to nothing.

Let me shew you an instance nearer hand. I gave you an image of the persons in the Godhead by the three several and distinct faculties in one and the same soul. Now not to soar so high as the unfathomable nature of the Deity, suppose you should explain the operations of the faculties of the soul in this way of a debt of money betwixt man and man, and say how the memory is indebted to the understanding for all it has, because it can remember nothing but what is presented to it by the understanding; and then again, how it pays this whole debt to the understanding by preserving the same objects for the understanding to work upon, without which it could understand nothing; and how the understanding may be said thus to enable the memory to pay the debt, and so in effect it is paying itself, and making satisfaction to itself: then again, how the will is indebted to the other two faculties, without which it could neither love nor hate, and how it pays them again the full recompense, by adding delight to their operations, without which they would be dead.

I suppose, sir, you would find many inconsistencies and absurdities in this way of arguing; and can you think then that such a metaphor can be carried on to the full in relation to the incomprehensible God? Though there may be found some



likeness and resemblance in many particulars, and of use to us by way of illustration, betwixt a debt to God and to man, of money and of sin. But to argue strictly, as you do, and think to make the parallel square perfectly in every particular, I hope I need not use arguments to convince you of the weakness and fallacy in this way of reasoning.

You accuse me of making use of parallels, yet you argue from nothing else; I draw parallels from man to God, but you bring down God to man; I use them only for illustration, you bring them into solid argument; I own all parallels as to God to be weak, and at an infinite distance from his nature, you will have them exact and the same, and draw up your accounts with God by way of creditor and debtor and balance! and make justice as precarious in God as it is in man! It is not necessary to man that he be exact in his justice, thence you infer that it is not necessary in God! A man may depart from his just right in a debt, therefore you think that God may as easily dispense with the inherent justice and rectitude of his nature, and his abhorrence of sin! Reparation may be made to a man for a fraud, by giving him money equivalent to his loss: would it not be gross to conceive thus of God? And what equivalent can we give to infinite justice offended? Is there a satisfaction or penalty due to the least injustice to man, and is there none due to justice itself? Or is it unjust in God to require that satisfaction, or inflict that penalty, which is just with men?

Sir, that exact parallel your argument requires betwixt the justice of God and of man will fail you in many points: let me name one. What we call

the attributes of God are only the different manner whereby we apprehend him: thus we make many attributes, as his justice, his wisdom, his mercy, &c. But these are all one in him, (though we cannot comprehend it,) who is one simple and uncompounded nature; upon which, when we look by that image of it in ourselves, we cannot conceive of these attributes but as of different, nay, sometimes even contrary things, because they are so with us: for example, justice and mercy are opposites with us; we may sometimes exercise our justice, and sometimes our mercy, but never both together in the same act, because they are incompatible: if I forgive, it is mercy; if I exact the rigour, it is justice: and I cannot do both at the same time, and in relation to the same debt; I cannot both forgive and exact it: if I exercise my mercy, it bars out my justice; and if I execute my justice, it excludes my mercy. But it is not so in God; he is all justice, and likewise all mercy; and is not compounded of these, but is each in the abstract; they are not contrary in him, though they are with us: and we cannot explain these things, nor argue strictly from the one to the other, from the justice in men to the justice of God, or to that justice which is God; but we may admire and adore it in that wonderful instance of it in the economy of our redemption by Christ, wherein the justice of God is shewed to be infinite, by the infinite satisfaction that is made to it: and his wisdom is infinite in contriving such a satisfaction; and his goodness equally infinite in affording it to us. This is the great mystery of *God manifest in the flesh*, which the angels desire to look into: but you lewdly blaspheme, p. 11, at

the end, and p. 12, and talk of complimenting the Father, and make sport with the other persons of the holy Trinity, by measuring them after the manner of men, and think yourself very wise and witty upon this occasion !

VII. But in your explanation you destroy all difference betwixt justice and mercy, even as it is understood among men. In your p. 4 you say to me,

“ You ask, p. 350, Does justice require full satisfaction? and are so disingenuous as to make your Socinian answer *Yes*, when no Socinian will ever say it in the sense your question intends, but, on the contrary, they would always answer *No*.”

You say to me again in your p. 5,

“ You ask, p. 349, if forgiveness without satisfaction be called justice ; and you make your Socinian answer *No*, when he would say *Yes*, if he might speak for himself ; but he is in your hands, and you make him speak what you would have him, to make you sport.”

Now, sir, I profess to you I meant no sport in the case ; nor did I think I did the Socinian any wrong to make him answer as I did ; for it is the same answer I would have given myself to these questions, and I thought it impossible for any body to give any other answer : I am sure if I had made him answer as *you* have done for him, I should have thought I had done him a great injury, and made him speak contrary to the sense of all mankind ; for I never heard man before you say, but that to forgive was an act of mercy, and not of justice ; and that to exact the utmost was the rigour of justice, and not mercy ; for otherwise this



must confound all the notions that ever I had (or I believe any body else) of justice and mercy.

Therefore I come to the reason you give for this so seemingly strange a position ; which follows your assertion in p. 5, the last paragraph, where you say,

“ I say then that free pardon is justice, as our  
“ alms is called *righteousness* in scripture ; for this  
“ reason among others, say some, because they must  
“ be given of such things as we have a right to : so  
“ God’s pardoning mercy is righteousness, as much  
“ as his bounty is, as being the exercise of his just  
“ right : punishing is one act of justice, and par-  
“ doning another ; either way God uses his own  
“ right with equal justice.”

I own myself at a loss to answer this, for I confess I do not understand it ; and you yourself, sir, seem somewhat perplexed, and set it down with fear and caution. You give this as a reason among others, as if the stress did not lie here, and put it with a *say some*, that it may not appear to be your own. Then you make a difference betwixt the mercy of God and his bounty, and say that “ God’s  
“ pardoning mercy is righteousness, as much as his  
“ bounty is ;” which will be easily granted you, because his mercy is his bounty to us. But what you mean by this is not easy to guess ; you jumble things together in an odd way. Alms is righteousness, because they are given of such things as we have a right to—and righteousness is justice, because it is just to do what I have a right to do ; for just is right : and thus you say that pardoning (as well as punishing) is an act of justice, for none can pardon but he who has a right to pardon—and so justice and mercy are the same thing !



Sir, this is very extraordinary ! but I find that this jingle or punning upon the word *right* does not satisfy yourself, and you soon forget it ; for at the end of your p. 13, speaking of the blood of atonement sprinkled on the mercy-seat, you add, “ this plainly “ taught that ’twas by an application to mercy from “ justice.” But why to mercy from justice, if justice and mercy are the same ? for if pardoning be justice because it is right, then punishing is mercy for the same reason ! Thus you, sir, have brought a new language into the world, because plain and easy speaking is natural to the Socinians.

VIII. You make yourself merry with me, p. 3, for finding the word *satisfaction* in that text, Isa. liii. 11, *He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied* : and you say it means only a complacence or complacential delight. Well, sir, and where is the great difference here ? for when a debt is paid to a man, and he is fully satisfied, may he not be said to have a complacential delight in this, that justice is fulfilled or satisfied ? And may we not say that God is pleased, or has a complacency, when justice is done ? Are not such expressions frequent in scripture ?

But you say this was spoken of the complacential delight which the “ servant of God ” (that is, Christ) “ should have in the issue of his undertaking.” And you say I am “ not quite so happy as ridiculous ” in pretending to find any satisfaction to God here. Well, then, I will set down the text according to your sense of it and mine, and see which is the most happy or ridiculous. Your sense is this, *Christ shall see of the travail of Christ’s soul, and shall be satisfied* : mine is, that *God shall see of the*

*travail of Christ's soul, and shall be satisfied.* You understand it as spoken of the same person, that *Christ was satisfied with his own travail*: I take it as meant of two persons, that *God was satisfied with the travail of Christ*: and the context is wholly on my side. See the verse before; *It pleased the Lord to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin—and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand—he shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied.* Here the *he* and the *he* spoken of throughout are plainly two persons, and you would have them one in the last sentence only. I will not return your compliment of *ridiculous*; but I may say that yours is no happy interpretation; it is not quite so easy as mine. But you have answered nothing to what I have said upon this text in my Sixth Dialogue, p. 383, which expressly confutes this exposition of yours.

IX. Having thus thrown off the word *satisfaction* as unscriptural, by your ingenious turn of this text, you come next to account for those terms which you own to be scriptural, and which indeed mean the same thing; and I love not to dispute with you about words: and you seem to allow that they do mean the same thing; for you say in the next words, p. 3,

“ Neither the unscriptural term *satisfaction*, nor  
 “ the scriptural terms *redemption*, *propitiation*,  
 “ *atonement*, *sacrifice*, &c. are the matters of this  
 “ dispute. The Unitarians can allow all these, and  
 “ the very Racovian Catechism expressly allows  
 “ Jesus Christ to be our expiatory sacrifice, chap.  
 “ viii. and that in the same sense as, nay, in a

“ fuller than the sacrifices under the law were  
 “ such. So that they have said what is false, who  
 “ tell the world that the Socinians in general deny  
 “ Christ died a proper sacrifice for sin: much less  
 “ do the Arian Unitarians decline the expression:  
 “ nor shall the phrase of *nostro loco*, or his dy-  
 “ ing in our stead, make any difference; so that the  
 “ Antinomian sense of his sustaining our legal per-  
 “ son be excluded. The Racovian Catechism asserts  
 “ it, that Christ died as *victima succedanea*. And  
 “ I think he that suffers with a design to prevent  
 “ our suffering, (which is granted,) truly suffers in  
 “ our stead.”

Here one would think we were perfectly agreed; but you except afterwards, and say, that this compensation which Christ made (and is not *compensation* as unscriptural as *satisfaction*, and means the same thing?) was not equivalent to the sins of men, and strictly meritorious of their pardon, nor were his sufferings infinite in value. And you own the reason why you say this to be, that otherwise it would infer his divinity: so that your first error in denying his divinity makes you stick out in this of the satisfaction; and you would allow of any satisfaction which would not infer his divinity; therefore you plead for a satisfaction that is insufficient, and make your pretence, that it would be more for the free and gratuitous mercy of God; of which I have spoke already.

But why should Christ undertake to make a satisfaction or compensation for sin, if he could not make one that was sufficient and meritorious, or deserving the pardon of sin? And how is he our atonement, if he could not atone for sin?



X. You resolve all this, p. 4, into his intercession for the pardon of our sin, “not as a thing strictly “merited, but sought of the divine favour and “mercy.”

But what need then was there for his suffering? This belongs not to the office of an intercessor; a man may intercede for another without dying for him.

You say for that, that his sufferings were the “trial of his virtues, viz. of his patience, humility, “submission towards God, and transcendent charity to men.”

But God knew all this already; and Christ was as dear to him before as after his sufferings. Would God then put him to such sufferings and cruel death, because he knew he would bear them patiently!

This is the Socinian account of the sufferings of Christ; and will in no ways answer Christ's being our atonement, propitiation, and sacrifice. Must an intercessor be sacrificed? But Christ does intercede for us on account of the sacrifice of himself which he offered to God for us; and in virtue of that sacrifice he is our intercessor: he was an intercessor for us before he died, but not so as since, else he needed not have died: but he was not our propitiation and sacrifice before: and how did he suffer in our stead, (which you confess,) if he died only to approve his own virtues, as you say?

And you lay no stress upon his death: you say, in the same p. 4, that “we are brought to turn “from our sins to God by Christ.” But how? you explain it “by his law and example.” But here is not a word of our sins being purged by his death—



*by the blood of his cross*, as the scripture expresseth it, Col. i. 20. that is no part of the Socinian creed. You have told us in what sense you can use the words *redemption, propitiation, sacrifice*, &c. without any relation to his sufferings or death: you say he became all these things to us, by being an example of good life to us, and giving us a good law, and interceding for us.

XI. But it is said, that *without shedding of blood there is no remission*, Heb. ix. 22. You say that means no more than intercession! It is said, that *God made Christ to be sin for us*, 2 Cor. v. 21. You say he was not made sin for us, nor was our sin imputed to him! It is said, *he bore our sins in his own body on the tree*; and, *by his stripes we are healed*, 1 Pet. ii. 24. That is, say you, by his intercession! When was intercession called *stripes* before? *Reconciled to God by the death of his Son*, Rom. v. 10. Here intercession is *death* too! These are the easy expositions of the Socinians.

In my Sixth Dialogue, page 381, I exemplified this in the types that went before of Christ, as the high-priest *bearing the iniquity of the congregation upon him to make atonement for them*, Lev. vi. 26. x. 17. To which I might have added, that the sins of all the people were to be confessed over the scapegoat on the great day of expiation, and put upon his head, *to bear them away to a land not inhabited*, Lev. xvi. 21, &c.: and the reason given for the prohibition of eating blood, because *it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul*, Lev. xvii. 11. These, as types of Christ, and Christ considered as fulfilling them by bearing our sins, and making atonement for them in shedding

his blood for us, cannot be put off with his being only an example of holy living, or a giver of good laws, or even by being barely an intercessor for us. But of all this you take no notice.

And the reason I take to be, that you could not here so easily play and jingle with a word, and screw it into what meaning you think fit. For the types of Christ represent him as in a picture. There we see him shedding his blood in the sacrifices, and bearing the sins of the people; and making atonement for them in the person of the high-priest, not barely by making intercession, but by carrying the blood of expiation into the holy of holies, and offering it there for the sins of the people: which Christ fulfilled by entering into heaven with his own blood, and in virtue of that to make intercession for us. The parallel is largely insisted upon in the ninth and tenth to the Hebrews. And here your criticisms upon this or that word will not do: there is a whole scene laid before us, and we read actions, not words.

XII. You cannot here torment a text, as you do, p. 10, that of Acts iv. 27, 28. *For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thine hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.* Instead of which you would have it read thus: *Both Herod and Pontius Pilate were gathered together against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed to do what thy hand and counsel determined.* And what was that? You send us to know it to Acts x. 38, where it is said that Christ *went about doing good.* And this is

what you say was determined in this text, and not that he should be put to death; because this would lay too much stress upon his death, of which you make so little, and of which you say in this same page, col. 1, "was made to look like an accidental thing." And indeed it was noways necessary, according to your scheme of Christianity: for you are not of his mind who said that *it behoved Christ to suffer*. There was no need of it at all for his being an example of holy life, or a teacher, or an intercessor: but for being a sacrifice and ransom, a propitiation and atonement, there was absolute necessity for it, and it behoved him to suffer, if he would redeem us with his blood; without shedding of which, we are told, there could be no remission, and that his death must be of necessity: Christ said, *This is the new testament in my blood* Luke xxiv. 46. And the apostle said, *where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator* 20. Heb. ix. 16. *Whereupon the first testament* (which was but in type) *was not dedicated without blood*. For *without shedding of blood there is no remission*. Ver. 18. *It was therefore necessary that the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these*; (that is, the typical blood of the old testament;) *but the heavenly things themselves* (that is, the new testament) *with better sacrifices than these*, that is, *the sacrifice of Christ himself*. Ver. 17. And this testament could be of no force while Christ did live, nor could take effect till after his death. He was *the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world*. Rev. xiii. 8. Did this look like an accidental thing? This is *what the hand and counsel of God determined before to be done*. Acts iv. 28. And to avoid which, you have, I say not mis-



interpreted or wrested this text, but you have made a quite new text out of it: you have taken a sentence out of ver. 27. and put it to ver. 28. and apply it to a new and quite different subject from the whole context, which begins, ver. 23, with the severe threatening given to the apostles, thence goes to the persecution of Christ himself, and begins with the prophecy of it in the second Psalm, how the rulers and the people should conspire against Christ, there called *the anointed of God*: then shews how this was fulfilled in the rulers, &c. conspiring against this same *anointed*, to perform what God had before determined and prophesied should be done by these wicked rulers, &c. But you say this does not relate to the rulers, but to Christ, who was anointed to do good; though there is not a word in the whole context of what Christ did, but of what the rulers, &c. did. Well, it must be owned that the Socinians interpret scripture the most naturally of any!

But you give a reason; for, say you, “God did “not determine them (the rulers, &c.) to murder “Christ.” This betrays the weakness of your philosophy as well as your theology: you cannot distinguish betwixt God’s disposing of events and approving of the actions: God said to David, *I will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour.* Did God therefore approve of Absalom’s going in to his father’s wives? Does not God often make use of the wickedness of men to bring to pass the events which he has determined? God did determine to deliver Christ into the hands of the Jews, and he knew their wickedness, that they would crucify him. And thus he accomplished  
 Acts ii. 23. his all-wise counsel; as St. Peter said to them, *Him,*

2 Sam. xii.  
11.



(Christ,) *being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain.* And did they not do in this what God had before determined should be done? Is not this the very same with that other text, chap. iv. 28, which we are upon? And you may turn the one as well as the other, not to relate to the wicked rulers, &c. but to the good things that Christ did; for Christ signifies *anointed*, so he is called *anointed* in both texts; which may equally afford room for your sharp criticism to turn one word in the text into a quite different meaning from all the rest. This is easy and smooth, is it not?

XIII. But, sir, your labour and grief is yet behind: for in the same p. 10. you pursue this matter till you come to that crabbed text for Socinians, of *Christ being made a curse for us.* And here you Gal. iii. 13. take true pains again; for this will by no means agree with limiting the office of Christ to that only of an intercessor; for does interceding make one a curse? Therefore you prove at large that Christ was not accursed to God; no, surely, for he was always his well-beloved; so you might have saved all that pains. Well, then, how do you understand this text? You say "the Jews made him a curse." I suppose you mean that they only thought him so. And did that make him a curse? Then evil men may make good men accursed when they please. But the text gives a reason for his being made a curse; for it is written, *Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.* Was this only what the Jews or any other thought? Is it not a curse in itself to be hanged on a tree? It is a curse of punishment,

not always of guilt: but there was guilt here too, not of Christ himself, but the guilt of our sins which  
 Isa. liii. 6. he had taken upon him; as it is written, *The Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all*; or, as our margin reads it, *The Lord hath made the iniquities of us all to meet on him*. And, *He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed*. And, *Thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin*. And again,  
 Ver. 5. *He bare the sin of many*: it is added, *and he made intercession for the transgressors*. And his suffering for them was a good ground of his making intercession for them; but bare intercession without suffering will not fill up the meaning of these scriptures; for does God lay the iniquity of the transgressor upon the intercessor? Does a man who intercedes for another make his soul an offering for him? But it is said, *Thou shalt make his soul an offering*, &c. Does God make the soul of the intercessor an offering for the sin of the transgressor? And your criticism upon ver. 11, of which I have spoke before, whereby you construe *he shall see of the travail of his soul* to be meant of the same person, will not do here, unless you will read *thou shalt make his* to be *I shall make mine*. And this is in ver. 10, and the same sentence with the other in ver. 11, and speaking of the same persons; yet you called me not so happy as ridiculous in not allowing that there was but one and the selfsame person here spoke of.

But Christ did not only freely offer himself, but God did also *make his soul an offering for sin*, and laid our iniquities upon him, that they might not

be imputed unto us: it was the work of God, and of Christ too; as it is said, *God hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ; to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them:* and thus it is that God made Christ an offering, and sin, and a curse for us. <sup>2 Cor. v. 18, 19.</sup>

And here I think the cause of Socinianism upon this point to be determined; and the sorry salvo you, sir, have for all this, being only that the Jews thought Christ to be a curse, will make it so appear to every body: for there is nothing said nor implied of what the Jews thought, but of what God did. It was God who made the soul of Christ *an offering for sin*: it was God who *made him to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him*; which is the conclusion drawn from what I just now quoted of *God's reconciling us to himself by Jesus Christ*, and not imputing our trespasses unto us. Why? because *he hath made him to be sin for us, &c.* <sup>2 Cor. v. 21.</sup> And the same is the meaning of Gal. iii. 13, *Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us.* Is there any thing said here of what the Jews thought? Nay, it is certain that the Jews neither thought nor believed any of these things; for if they had, they must have been converted, as all of them were who did believe it; and till the Socinians come to believe it, they are not Christians.

XIV. But, to save Christ from being a curse, you will not allow that God's displeasure or wrath against sin was shewn at all in his sending Christ into the world. You say, p. 21, "We are not so much as once called to take notice of God's se-



“ verity in this affair.” His mercy, indeed, was great to sinners in sending Christ to redeem them; this you enlarge upon; but you would not have it thought that Christ underwent any severity to redeem men. He did undergo great severities; what was it for? You say (as I quoted it before) it was only to try whether he could bear them patiently, though God knew that he both could and would. So here was an experiment tried to no purpose but to the terrible afflicting an innocent person! and to lay the more upon him because he was willing to bear!

But, sir, when God tells the reason why Christ was thus grievously afflicted, and *poured out his soul unto death*, and that it was for our sins—for *the transgression of my people was he stricken—all we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all*: does not this shew God’s high displeasure against sin, and that this was the cause of his sending Christ to suffer for our sins? *For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust.—Having made peace through the blood of his cross.—Justified by his blood.* The places of scripture are infinite which attribute our redemption from our sins to the sufferings, the blood, and the death of Christ, as an atonement, a sacrifice, a propitiation for them.—*Reconciled to God by the death of his Son—By whom now we have received the atonement.—Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us.—When he had by himself purged our sins.—Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood for the remission of sins.—God sent his Son to be*

Isai. liii.  
1 Pet. iii. 18.  
Col. i. 20.  
Rom. v. 9.  
Rom. v. 10.  
11.  
1 Cor. v. 7.  
Heb. i. 3.  
Rom. iii. 25.  
1 John iv.  
10.



*the propitiation for our sins.—You, being dead in your sins, hath he quickened, having forgiven you all trespasses; blotting out the handwriting, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross.—Ye who were sometimes afar off are made nigh by the blood of Christ.—You, that were sometime alienated—yet now hath he reconciled in the body of his flesh through death.* So that our sins had alienated us from God; and we were reconciled by Christ. But how? By his blood; by his death in the body of his flesh. All along through the New Testament the stress is laid here; but this the Socinians have wholly laid aside, as of no use or import to our salvation; nothing at all to us, only to shew his own patience, &c. which is all the use they can find of his sufferings or death; to recommend himself to God, (it seems they think there was need of that,) but without any respect to us. So that they make him suffer for himself, not for us. *He suffered for sin*, says the scripture: no, say the Socinians, no more than Job, only to shew his fortitude, and thereby make himself more acceptable to God! You will say it was to make himself more worthy to be our intercessor; but was he not as worthy before? or did not God sufficiently know him before? Afflictions are sent to us either for the punishment of our sins, or to amend us, and make us better: for which of these ends were they sent to Christ, or what other that you can name, besides that senseless one you have named already, for a trial only of skill?

You have totally forgot the office of Christ as a priest, which is not only to intercede, but also to offer gifts and sacrifices; *Wherefore*, as the apostle says, *it is of necessity that this man* (Christ) *have some-*

Heb. x. 10. *what else to offer.* And this was the sacrifice of himself, *by which we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.* This is what you despise and deny: you deny that he offered up his body, or that it was any sacrifice at all: you say it rather seems to be purely accidental; but, at most, that it was only to approve his own patience, obedience, and humility; yet not as any sacrifice for us, or that we receive any benefit by it, unless as an example, that we also may be patient in sufferings; and such an example no doubt it is: but that is not the faith in his blood which is made necessary for our salvation. I pray God you may think of it in time.

When I say that you deny that Christ was any sacrifice, I do not forget that you use the word; nay, as I have quoted you already, you own it, p. 3, to be a “proper sacrifice for sin,” and in our stead too. But then, in explaining it, you reduce it all to intercession only, or example, and quite go off the proper notion of sacrifice, as I have shewed: so that it is not your words I regard, but the meaning: and the Socinian subtilty lies chiefly in this, to deceive with words.

XV. But you come, p. 13, to a popular declamation, where, by measuring the justice and mercy of God by those qualities in men, you ask whether we are bound to forgive others more than God has forgiven us? And he having received full satisfaction for our sins, consequently we ought not to forgive, unless full satisfaction be made to us. Then you bring in the Lord’s Prayer, and please yourself to make the notion of satisfaction to God appear ridiculous: yet not without some check in your own

mind of the fallacy of this argument ; for you conclude it thus : “ Whatever difference of circumstances there may be in the method of God’s forgiveness and ours, it must not be in any thing that subverts the nature of free gratuitous pardon.”

Thus having (as you think) secured your main point, you are less solicitous what becomes of the rest ; for you cannot but be sensible that there is a very different method of God’s forgiveness and ours : what God forgives is wholly and solely upon his own account, and therefore is to be measured by the inherent rectitude of his own nature ; and he being justice itself, consequently must take care that this attribute be not hurt or lessened by any other : of this I have spoke before. But among men the case is quite different ; for no man is the measure and standard of justice : so that justice in itself is not hurt whether any man be just or not ; but an alteration of it in God would alter the very nature of justice itself.

And as all injustice is in erring from the rule of the essential justice, and must be referred to it, so there is neither justice nor injustice, strictly speaking, betwixt man and man ; for there is no sin against man, but as it is a sin against God ; therefore David said, *Against thee, thee only, have I sinned*. Psal. li. 4. And the forgiveness of man ought to be grounded on this, that he has nothing in himself to which any reparation for an injury is due ; for the injury is to justice, that is, to God ; and for my part of it, as there is nothing due to me, so I ought to refer it to him that is injured, that is, to God ; and, after our blessed Saviour’s example, when reviled, not to revile again, nor threaten, but to com-



mit myself, and refer my cause *to him who judgeth righteously*. If the practice of the world be urged against this, it may be replied, that there are too many in the world who think themselves the measure of justice, and think every thing good and evil as it is so to them; and there are infirmities in the best men, which must not be made the standard of justice.

But I have another answer, which is, that the pardon of sinners is most free and gratuitous on the part of God, though his wisdom has found out a method whereby his justice may be entirely satisfied: (I have explained this before:) and therefore no pattern of forgiveness can be so great, so gratuitous, as the forgiveness of God. As to that point of the satisfying his justice, we have no pretence to it, nor is it proposed as a pattern to us.

But now, sir, see how you will be caught in the snare that you laid for others; for I have before told you that your scheme of the forgiveness of God is not gratuitous, because several conditions are required which are difficult to flesh and blood; and, moreover, we are often severely punished, besides that some affliction, sickness, and death, abide all. Now to turn your argument; if we are to forgive others (in your way) as God forgives us, then cannot our forgiveness be free and gratuitous; and there will be scope for our malice, to inflict upon those we forgive all that God inflicts upon us, even death itself. But in my way the forgiveness will be complete and entire, as in the economy of God for our redemption, when we were enemies, and without any merit or deserving whatsoever on our part: the mercy was wholly owing to himself, and



the glory is only his: and following this example, we shall not only be willing to forgive, but to die for our enemies.

XVI. But, sir, you go on to lessen the efficacy of the death of Christ, and say, p. 14, “that the scripture is so far from appropriating Christ’s atonement to his death, that it gives more virtue to “his intercession.” For proof of which you quote Rom. viii. 34, and repeat it thus, *Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who maketh intercession for us.*

But, sir, the *rather* is put to the resurrection; and there is an interval in the text betwixt that and the *intercession*, which you have omitted, to bring the *intercession* nearer to the *rather*; as likewise the *also*, which shews that the intercession is spoke of as a thing by itself, and is not brought into the comparison, or meant in the *rather*: for thus the text runs,—*yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us.* The climax or transition here is very easy: *Who is he that condemneth?*—that is, pronounces condemnation to us for our sins;—*It is Christ who died* for our sins; this was undergoing the curse of sin, entering into the prison allotted for sin, making himself the debtor, as our surety, (Heb. vii. 22.) *yea rather, who is risen again*, who has opened the prison doors, and come out, to shew that the whole debt was paid, and he could no longer be detained there: and to shew that this was no illegal escape, he ascends into heaven, to appear before his Father the creditor, who places him on his right hand, to shew his acceptance of him; and moreover, or also, receives

him as our intercessor or advocate for us, on account of his meritorious death and passion, which he there pleads on our behalf.

But is it a natural inference hence to say that more virtue is attributed to his intercession than to his death? or that the atonement is rather to be placed to the account of his intercession than of his death? whereas the intercession is on account of his death. But if it was not on account of his death, as you say, and that the efficacy is in the intercession itself, then to what purpose was his death? Might he not have interceded without that? or would it not have been so prevalent? Here you are pinched, you enemies to the cross of Christ, and despisers of his death!

But to go on with your argument. You say in the next words, “His resurrection being so requisite to his intercession for pardon”—Requisite indeed! for if he had continued dead, how could he have interceded? But if that had been all, he might have saved it by not dying; then there had been no need of his resurrection: and he did intercede before his death, *with strong crying and tears*: but his death must intervene before he could intercede on account of his death, as past and done; and towards this indeed his resurrection was absolutely necessary. And here you may learn the difference betwixt his intercession before and after his death; if you see no difference, then you make no account of his death at all!

Well, but his resurrection being thus requisite to his intercession, you infer that the same apostle says, “*If Christ be not raised, we are yet in our sins*, notwithstanding his death; and the reason of

“ it is, because he *rose again for our justification.*” Rom. iv. 25.

All this you say, to lay aside the virtue of his death: but if you had set down the whole verse, Rom. iv. 25, it would have defeated your design; for the words are, *who was delivered* (that is, to death) *for our offences, and raised again for our justification.* Here the necessity and efficacy of his death appears; but we could not be justified by it, or our debt discharged, till his resurrection, because if he had remained always in the prison of death, he had been a fellow-prisoner with us; but this would not have discharged us; but by opening the prison doors, and coming out, he shewed the debt was discharged: and therefore the apostle said justly, *If Christ be not raised, we are yet in our sins*; the debt is not paid, Christ is still a prisoner; and his resurrection had been of no more use to us than that of Lazarus, if he had not died as a sacrifice for our sins. But as you place no virtue (as to us) in his death, so you make nothing of his resurrection, but as a requisite towards his being our intercessor, as he was (and no otherwise than) before his death. “ And on this” (his intercession) “ it is,” say you, “ that the apostle “ lays the stress of a Christian’s hope of salvation “ by Christ;” that is, *he ever liveth to make inter-* Heb. vii. 25.  
*cession for us.* And God forbid any good Christian should not always lay stress upon it; but not as you do, to depreciate and lessen the efficacy of his death for the remission of our sins.

You understand not the economy of our salvation, and therefore set up one part to beat down another; and you take away that which the scripture makes the ground and foundation of all, that is, the sufferings and death of Christ, of which you make no



more than the example of the patience and resignation of a good man; but you put all the efficacy upon the intercession alone. His intercession on account of his meritorious death and passion includes the whole economy; but without that, what can you make of intercession alone? Can any reasons or motives be used to God that he does not know already? I oppose not the intercession of Christ to his death, they come both into the same; but where the intercession of Christ is mentioned once in the New Testament, his death is a hundred times: I can remember but two texts that speak of his intercession for us, that is, Rom. viii. 34. and Heb. vii. 25. both which you have named, and I believe you can name none other; and the intercession of the Spirit for us is as often mentioned, Rom. viii. 26, 27. Do you, sir, understand Christ by the Spirit here? or God the Father, that he maketh intercession to himself? or what other person is meant here? for it must be a person that maketh intercession: and if I should put the word *intercession* instead of the word *satisfaction*, and run all those divisions you do upon it in your p. 17 and 18, you would think me not only a trifler, but a blasphemer. But this by the bye.

Now for the twice that the intercession of Christ is mentioned, see, among many others, the following texts, that you may reflect where the scripture lays the main stress, that it is upon the sufferings and death of Christ.

1 Cor. i. 18. The gospel is called *the preaching of the cross*—  
 Gal. vi. 12, *Suffering persecution for the cross of Christ*—  
 Eph. ii. 15, *14. rying in the cross*—  
 Col. i. 20. *16. Having abolished in his flesh the enmity*—  
*Reconciling by the cross*—  
*Made peace*



by the blood of his cross—Reconciled to God by the death of his Son—We are baptized into his death—Reconciled in the body of his flesh through death—That through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil; and deliver them who through fear of death were subject—The blood of Christ purge your conscience—That by means of death, for the redemption of transgressions—Through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ—My blood of the new testament—for the remission of sins—The church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood—Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood—Justified by his blood—Redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins—By his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us—To enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus—The blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified—Sanctify the people with his own blood—Through the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ—Redeemed with the precious blood of Christ—The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin—Washed us from our sins in his own blood—Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood—Washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb—Christ our Pass-over is sacrificed for us.

I could bring many more texts to the same purpose: it is the constant strain through all the New Testament; whereas the intercession is but twice transiently named through the whole: upon which then does the scripture lay most stress?

I have sufficiently cautioned before, that I say no-

thing in derogation to the all-sufficient intercession of our Lord Jesus; but only to detect the subtilty of this Socinian, who, under colour of that, would take away all the merit of the sufferings and death of Christ as to us, and will let them be no part, or a very slight one, in the economy of our redemption.

XVII. You make very much of the instance of David, p. 14, 15, who was pardoned without offering or sacrifice: but yourself gives the reason, because there was no sacrifice under the law for murder or adultery. Well then, you infer from thence, that repentance is sufficient to expiate greater sins than sacrifice. But, sir, repentance was required to go along with their sacrifices, else they were often told that their sacrifices should not be accepted. There was no sacrifice appointed for blasphemy, murder, adultery, or other capital crimes, but they must *die the death*. And the Jews had a tradition, and have still, that there would be an expiation under the Messiah for those sins which were not expiable by the law: but David knew more; he believed the incarnation of Christ, his priesthood, death, and resurrection, which would supersede the legal sacrifices, that were but types of him, as is largely insisted upon in the Epistle to the Hebrews: there, chap. x. 5, the prophecy of David is quoted concerning the incarnation of Christ, and his coming in place of the legal sacrifices, whose blood could not take away sins; *Wherefore* (as a remedy for this) *when Christ cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me*. This is quoted from Psalm xl. 6. And, chap. vii. David's prophecy of the priesthood

of Christ, Psalm cx. not after the order of Aaron, is strongly enforced by the apostle. And, Acts ii. 31, David is again quoted for the death and resurrection of Christ, which it is said he plainly foresaw and spoke of, Psalm xvi. 10. And again, Acts xiii. 33, the second Psalm is quoted for the resurrection of Christ: and Psalm xxii. (the first words of which Christ repeated upon the cross) is a description of his passion even literally. And Luke xxiv. 44, the Psalms are named with Moses and the prophets concerning all things which Christ was to fulfil, *how it behoved him to suffer, and to rise from the dead, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name, &c.* And we cannot suppose but that David, who saw this so plainly, and had this faith in Christ, had regard to him in his repentance, and that there was expiation in his blood for sins to which the sacrifices of the law did not reach.

I believe you will allow that the repentance even of those who know not Christ is accepted through the mediation of Christ; much more then might the repentance of David, who knew it so well. And if it was through the intercession of Christ, then, by what I have said, it was in virtue of his death and passion, which was that sacrifice could take away all sins, *from which men could not be justified* Acts xiii. 39.  
*by the law of Moses.*

This gives an easy solution to that text, *There* Heb. x. 26. *remaineth no more sacrifice for sins*, that is, there were sins which could not be expiated by the sacrifices under the law, yet were expiable by the sacrifice of the Messiah. But if we reject this sacrifice, there is none other to come whereby we may be



saved. This was written to the Jews, to shew them that their Messiah was come, and that none other was to be expected: therefore if they rejected him, there was *no more*, that is, *no other sacrifice for sins*; οὐκ ἔτι ἀπολείπεται, *jam non relinquitur*, there is no sacrifice left, or to come, which can take away sins. But this says not, that, even after apostasy, if we return to this sacrifice, it is not sufficient to take away that and all other our sins; but only, that there is no other sacrifice but this which can do it.

XVIII. Then, sir, think of your case who have no faith in this sacrifice, but argue here that bare repentance without it is sufficient: and if so, then for what end was it sent? Nay, you think it no sacrifice at all, but rather an accidental thing, and argue against the justice of it on God's part, if he had any hand in it, otherwise than as barely permitting the wickedness of those who did it. You say, p. 10,

“ If it were just to inflict this as a punishment  
 “ on Jesus Christ, no doubt God might justly have  
 “ commanded the Jews to slay him, and then it had  
 “ looked more like punishment; whereas by a bare  
 “ permission or secret will, it comes to pass that the  
 “ most solemn vindication of severe justice was made  
 “ to look like an accidental thing, and scarce to be  
 “ distinguished from the ordinary trials of the saints,  
 “ as to the ground of his sufferings, and loses its  
 “ true use.”

Sir, this is making very free with the methods of Providence; that if they be not just as you fancy, they lose their use! but *the folly of God is wiser than men*: and though we understand not his de-



signs in all his dispensations, yet we are to reverence them, and believe them wise and good. You durst not thus pry into the cabinet of princes, and censure their actions.

It is said, that *if they had known it, they would* <sup>1 Cor. ii. 8.</sup> *not have crucified the Lord of glory.* Now, sir, would you have had God forced their will to do so very wicked a thing? This would have been to alter the nature of man, and take freewill from him; by which as he could not be guilty of sin, so neither had he been liable to punishment, unless you think it just to punish men for what was not in their power to help: and this would have made God the sole author of sin. This is the method in which you would mend Providence.

And this you think more reasonable than that they should do it ignorantly, and these builders should reject the corner-stone through their own default: and it was prophesied that it should thus be brought to pass, as the apostle tells them; *for they* <sup>Acts xiii.</sup> *that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because* <sup>27, 29.</sup> *they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him—and they fulfilled all that was written of him.* But you think all this was wrong, and that God should have commanded the Jews to have crucified him, if he intended him as any sacrifice or propitiation for sin, else that all he did loses its true use.

Does not God often punish sins, and yet does not by a voice from heaven tell us for what particular sin such a judgment was sent? He leaves that to our own application.

And he makes use of the wickedness of some to

punish the sins of others, as the sin of David was punished by the rebellion of Absalom.

Amos iii. 6. And as God doth govern all events, so *there is no evil in the city which the Lord hath not done*: and  
 1 Kings xiii. 26. it is said, *the Lord delivered him unto the lion*:  
 Rom. iv. 25. and thus it is said that *Christ was delivered* (to the  
 Rom. viii. 32. Jews) *for our offences*; and that *God spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all*. Therefore this was God's doing, but in a more righteous way than by commanding the Jews to do a wicked thing, as you think would have been more reasonable! And does it not fully shew God's wrath against sin, when he delivered his Son unto death, to make atonement for it? or do you think that God would not have spared his own Son, if there had been no need of his suffering? You make it only the pleasure God took to see him suffer, to try how patiently he could suffer, though he knew all that before! This is the rational sense you Socinians put upon the sufferings of Christ, while you reject that of his being a sacrifice for sin as unreasonable!

XIX. You make another effort against his being a sacrifice for sin, by endeavouring to prove that the sacrifices under the law had no relation to him: for this purpose you suppose, p. 15, that those sacrifices did not relate to conscience, but were a political institution, and a rite only by which they sought pardon for their political guilt from God as their state ruler; and that this was the reason why no sacrifice was allowed for those crimes which were made capital by the law, because they had no signification but to excuse from temporal punishment or temporal or civil crimes. And you say, p. 16, that

otherwise, if they had any respect to the purging of conscience from sin, or to the death of Christ, "if it " had been so," say you, " I think it had not failed " to have been mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews." But you were aware that in that Epistle they are frequently called *types* of Christ and of his death. But this you easily put off, saying that by *type* no more was meant than some sort of allusion. But, sir, though every type is an allusion, yet every allusion is not a type: we may make allusions in many things; but a type is something ordained of God to be such an allusion: but what is the allusion you mean? You say " that Christ's " death had the like efficacy for eternal pardon as " the legal offerings had for external and temporal " pardon." But this allusion is no more a type than the laws of Numa, Solon, or Lycurgus. Whereas, throughout this Epistle to the Hebrews, the necessity is urged of Christ's fulfilling every circumstance of his types under the law of Moses, even to his suffering *without the gate*, because the body of the expiatory sacrifice was *burnt without the camp*.

Then this Epistle argues in a quite different strain from you: for it supposes all along that the sacrifices under the law were for the expiation of sin; and thence infers that there must be a more noble sacrifice, because *it was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin. Wherefore when he (Christ) cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me, &c.* Now where is the argument here, if the legal sacrifices were not ordained to take away sin? Was it not possible for them to take away the external or temporal punish-



ment, if they were nothing else but rites (as you say) appointed by God for that end?

Then what was the great day of expiation appointed for? It was not to excuse any man from death or temporal punishment, but to atone for the sins of the people, which were all put upon the head of the scapegoat, to bear them away: and we find no temporal punishment for the neglect of many of the sacrifices, as those appointed after childbirth, &c. And they were not rites to procure pardon for any civil or political crime; but to shew the impurity of our corrupted nature, and that we are born in sin.

But, sir, you are got in with the men of the *rights*, who consider God only as the state ruler of the Jews, and his laws to have no other than a political meaning, without any respect to sin or a future state. And I suppose you are of their opinion too, that God had this authority derived to him by the people, and gave them laws by virtue of the Horeb contract! Great part of their artillery came out of your forge.

But, sir, you have slipt an expression here, in your zeal to make the legal sacrifices only allusions, and not types: you say, "that Christ's death had the like efficacy for eternal pardon, as the legal sacrifices had for external and temporal pardon." Quite forgetting that you make nothing of the death of Christ, as to propitiation, but place all in the intercession only, of which I have spoken sufficiently. But that would not have answered the types or allusion (if you will call it so) of the legal sacrifices, which did not intercede at all; but had respect only to the death of Christ: therefore you were forced



to make use of that word. It is hard for error to be consistent with itself.

XX. But you strike home, and quote authorities. P. 17, you say, “ Besides, how can one infinite sacrifice (if it be supposed) be an equivalent for so many myriads of infinite sins? as a great prelate of the age has observed in one of his four Discourses: will not each crime need an infinite sacrifice? If you say one infinite is as much as many of the same kind, because it can have no addition; then a whole course of debaucheries ought to sit as easy on the conscience as one single infinite fault; and will not this be a fine way to make your doctrine of satisfaction a comfortable doctrine?”

Sir, I will not ask who your prelate is, or if you quote him right; but to the argument. It is all built upon mistake, and a poor jingle on the word *infinite*. There is none infinite but God; and we cannot frame an idea of an infinite nature. No sin can be infinite in its nature; but we call it infinite, as being an offence against an infinite Being: and the guilt of an offence rises according to the dignity of the person offended: thus an affront to a king is a greater offence than the same affront, if offered to a private person: and measuring by the dignity of the person, what can we call a sin against God but an infinite offence? And we cannot make any satisfaction for it, as we may to a man, even to a king offended. But to say it will follow from hence that there cannot be greater provocations, or more sins in number, because nothing can be added to infinite, is playing with a word, and not understanding because we will not understand: I dare leave it to any

common reader whether this is not a mere cavil; and as such I pass it.

XXI. But, p. 19, 20, you accuse me for injuring another great prelate, and making him a Socinian. In what? Because of his sermon concerning hell torments, that it is not certain they are everlasting, because, as he says, God is not obliged to inflict threatenings, though he is to perform promises which are to the benefit of those to whom they are made. I name neither person nor prelate nor sermon; and where you see I avoid reflections, you ought not to bring them in. They lie then upon you. But is this of hell torments any part of Socinianism? How was this then making him a Socinian? You endeavour to clear the Socinians from it, p. 19, by saying that the Racovian Catechism, and other of their writings, expressly own eternal punishments, and that Dr. Stillingfleet cites them as asserting that “God’s veracity is concerned in the execution of those threatenings on the impenitent.”

Thus, sir, you have cleared the Socinians. And yet, at the end of your p. 6, you argue with some warmth against the eternity of hell torments; and use the very argument in that sermon. You say,

“That whatever the certain natural consequences of sin may be, to render an incorrigible sinner miserable, and whatever engagements may be upon his (God’s) truth on other accounts, to exact the threatened punishment on the irreclaimable sinner; yet the bare threatening does not, I conceive, engage his truth, because threatenings are not like predictions, nor are wont to be understood to signify what shall certainly be, but what

“ may be expected ; they are not given as a pledge  
“ of the divine veracity : death was threatened to  
“ the murderer, and yet God said to David, without  
“ being false, *Thou shalt not die.*”

By this, not only the eternity of hell torments, but any hell at all, is rendered wholly precarious ; for the one is threatened no more than the other.

I see now, sir, what made you so displeased at any contradiction to that sermon. I will not enter into the argument now, having said so much of it before : this only I would ask you, that since the sermon does grant that God intended men should believe the eternity of hell, to deter them the more from sinning, to what ends of religion this contrary doctrine is now set up ? If believing the eternity of torments will not restrain some men, will making them doubt of any punishment at all persuade them ? And if God designed men should believe it, why would you or he persuade them not to believe it ? But this we must say, that we cannot have greater assurance of it than by God’s telling us that so it is.

You ask me, p. 20, “ Whether I intended to slur  
“ that illustrious archbishop (whose noble parts,  
“ great integrity, and sweet temper, rendered him  
“ one of the greatest ornaments of the church and  
“ age) by telling the world he was a Socinian ?”

Sir, where have I told the world so ? Unless you think that his opinion concerning hell is Socinianism. And I was so far from intending to slur him, that I only gave my thoughts as to his opinion, without naming either himself or his sermon.

And I must tell you, sir, that your high commendation of him will not contribute much to clear him



from the charge of Socinianism, if any lays that upon him; you should have dealt as tenderly with him as I did, and not have named him upon this occasion: but I suppose you thought it a credit to your cause to have him, and the other great prelate you quote, suspected of favouring it.

But all this is foreign to our present dispute, only you would hale it in; and I thought it civil to give you an answer.

XXII. It seems all I touch is defiled, not excepting the holy scriptures; for just before this attack upon me, p. 19, you ridicule some scripture expressions which I use, and say to me,

“As to your wild Antinomian suggestions scattered up and down, about Christ’s suretyship, his being the reconciler of angels, who never offended, as well as of men; your pretty metaphors about being clothed in the garments of our elder brother, (a bold word to use of Almighty God, for as Christ was man, you’ll not say but there were elder brethren than he,) your talk of darning and cobbling, rubbing and scrubbing, patching and scouring the *filthy rags of our righteousness*,” &c.

This last was a simile I made of a man clothed in filthy rags coming to court, to sit down with the king at his table, at the marriage of his son, and not putting on a wedding garment, but thinking it well enough to patch and clean his filthy rags, which I compared to those who trust in *their own righteousness*. And as to my words, you may make as free with them as you please, but do you not know that *our righteousness* is compared to *filthy rags*? Isa. lxiv. 6. Is not Christ called *our surety*? Heb. vii. 22. And is it not said that *all things in heaven*



as well as on earth are reconciled by him? Col. i. 20. And does not the apostle use the metaphor of our being *new clothed* and *clothed upon*? 2 Cor. iv. 2, 3, 4; which he explains, Phil. iii. 9, that we *may be found in him*, (Christ,) *not having our own righteousness*, (that is, our *filthy rags*,) *but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith*. And as to Christ being our *elder brother*, is it not said, Rom. viii. 29, that *he is the firstborn among many brethren*? And if you understand it not, you may see it explained, Col. i. 15, 18, where he is called *the firstborn from the dead*, and *the firstborn of every creature*. But how came you to fancy that I meant this of Almighty God, and not of Christ as man, and that I called God our *elder brother*? This shews your great sagacity and skill in the holy scriptures.

And, sir, remember that the dispute is not here about the meaning of these expressions, but you turn the expressions themselves into ridicule, and spend your wit upon them; I hope, not knowing that they were the words of scripture!

You say, that “the poor dissenters have been “jeered out of these expressions by them of the “church, as *nauseous cant*.”

Sir, I dare say you are much mistaken; the meaning they put upon these expressions might be found fault with; but if any said that the expressions were *nauseous cant*, they have fallen into your error; and the dissenters were in the right not to be jeered out of them.

XXIII. I have not taken your p. 17 and 18. in course, because I spoke to them before; and I did not intend to have gone over your paper, most of it

being digressions, but having begun, I am drawn in. I will now only add this; that as your whole banter (for I can call it no other) proceeds from your speaking of the persons of God as of the persons of men, thence asking, if the Son made satisfaction to the Father, who made satisfaction to the Son, &c.? So now, to shew you that the same may be turned upon your scheme, I ask you, first, whether we are baptized into the faith and worship of creatures? If not, how will you defend that party of the Unitarians among us who acknowledge the Son and the Holy Ghost (in whose names we are baptized) to be truly distinct persons, but to be creatures? as John Biddle and his followers. But, on the other hand, others of you do suppose that by the Son and the Holy Ghost no persons at all are meant, but only some of God's attributes, as wisdom, or power, &c. Then they make this sense of our baptism to be in the name of the Father, and of his power, and of his wisdom, which are the same with the Father; and that we are not baptized into the names of persons, or have our faith in persons, but in attributes or qualities which are nothing in themselves, only school-terms to express our apprehension of things; and so we are baptized into the faith and worship of school-terms, which you so much abominate, and lay all the errors in the church upon bringing them into our Creeds: to which of these classes of Unitarians you belong I will not examine, but leave you to make your choice.

XXIV. I told you before that intercession for us is as often attributed to the Spirit as to the Son: is the Son therefore no otherwise our Redeemer

than as the Spirit is? It can be no otherwise to you, who place all in intercession only; but to us who believe that the intercession is grounded upon the sacrifice of the cross, the answer is easy, that the Son only took flesh, and suffered for us; though the Spirit also maketh intercession, and also upon the account of that sacrifice.

Now supposing, as most of you do, that the Spirit is no person distinct from the Father, how might I ring all those changes upon the intercession that you do upon the satisfaction! The same person to intercede with himself! Is not that as absurd (in your view) as to make satisfaction to himself?

But then, supposing that the Son and the Spirit are persons (but creatures) distinct from the Father and from each other, as the Biddleit-Unitarians hold, might I not ask as you do, What! is the Spirit more compassionate and more exorable than the Father? And if we owe our redemption to his intercession, then we owe more thanks to the Spirit than to the Father, who but for the Spirit had doomed us to eternal destruction! Thus you argue against the satisfaction; grossly measuring the persons of God by the persons of men. And now I shew you how this will turn upon you in what you allow and contend for, the intercession of the Son, as also of the Spirit, which you cannot deny is likewise as expressly in scripture.

And suppose a Jew, Mahometan, or pagan, or one of our Deists, should ask you what need there is of intercession; can any inform God of what he knew not before? Or has any more goodness than God, to prompt him to shew more mercy than he was otherwise inclined to? Or can the value and deserving of



any intercessor be more prevalent with God than his own innate and essential goodness? Would he *give his glory to another*, and let the sinner be obliged to any but to himself for his pardon; nay, more to the intercessor than to himself, according to your argument against the satisfaction? This you insist upon, p. 18, 19, that it would make the Son more gracious than the Father; and you say,

XXV. "How can poor people forbear, by this rule, to think and speak more kindly of Jesus Christ than of God? Is this one reason that makes so many bow at the name of Jesus, who yet stand stiff at the name of his God and ours? or that teaches others to call a sermon of loving Christ, &c. *spiritual preaching*, while one of loving and obeying God is relished as *dry morality*?"

Sir, in answer to this last point, I wish reverence were always shewed at naming the name of God, even in private conversation, by uncovering the head, rising from one's seat, or bowing the body or the knee; it would hinder that awful name to be so frequently in the mouth upon every slight occasion. And it is not preferring the name of Jesus to that, which is the reason of bowing at the name of Jesus; but it was used as a characteristic to distinguish a true Christian from the pretended, and from all others: for bowing at the name of God did not distinguish from an heathen, a Jew, or a Mahometan, who all own a supreme God; and bowing at the name of Christ would not distinguish from a Jew, who own and expect a Christ yet to come, but deny that our Jesus was the Christ. The same said Cerinthus and his followers in the days of the apostles, that Christ, by which they meant the holy



Spirit of God, did dwell in Jesus, and inspire him, but not that he was the Christ or God: they denied that he took flesh, or was made man, only that he dwelt in that man Jesus, and resided in him, as in other good men, but in a degree more than ordinary. This was the doctrine of Simon Magus, whose disciple Cerinthus was, and likewise all you Socinians who hold the same. In opposition to this, the apostles, particularly St. John, who lived the longest, and had seen Cerinthus, laid the stress of the Christian faith not only in believing in Christ, but that *Jesus was the Christ*; and not only dwelt in flesh, but *was made flesh*. And he concludes his Gospel, *John i. 14. These things are written, that ye might believe xx. 31. that Jesus is the Christ*. And in his First Epistle, *Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? And again, Every spirit that confesseth iv. 3. not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world*. (So that, sir, you see your doctrine is very ancient!) And this may be the reason why it is said, *that at the name of Jesus Phil. ii. 10. every knee shall bow*; that is, that all should confess Jesus to be the Christ: and this is confessed by us when we bow at that name, in opposition to all heathens, Jews, and antichrists, (as the apostle calls them,) who deny this Jesus to be the Christ, or that he was really made flesh; only that he was inspired of God, and God might be said in a metaphorical sense to dwell in flesh, as in Moses and the prophets, &c.

Hence the Quakers (your true disciples) have taken the name of Christ and of God too to them-

selves, and have paid divine adoration to each other, that is, to Christ or God dwelling in them.

But you care not to distinguish yourselves from any of these, and ridicule us for owning that Jesus only, and none other, is the Christ, by bowing at his name.

XXVI. Sir, I am now near a conclusion. You complain of me, p. 20, 21, for not allowing the Socinians to be Christians; but you answer not a word to the reasons I produced for it: so that it would be perfect repetition for me to go over them again here; therefore I must refer you back to my Second Letter, p. 33, &c.

But to prove them to be Christians, you say, p. 21, “Do they not worship the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob?” To which I answer, Do not the Jews and Mahometans the same? But you add, “and the same God the apostles worshipped.” Why was this any other God? But you go on and say, “Nay, do not they worship the same God that our Lord Christ himself worshipped?” To which I still say, And do not the Jew and Mahometans the same? I might add the heathens too, who worshipped the same God though ignorantly, Acts xvii. 23.

But here is the difference; the apostles and Christians did worship Christ as their Lord and their God; which is owned by the Racovian Catechism, and all excluded from the name of Christians who do not the same, and give not the same worship to Christ as to God himself, as I have plainly set down in my Second Letter, p. 41, &c. and to which you have answered nothing; so that you should have blamed your own Racovian Catechism, and not put all your objections against me: but you would not

quit your founders, though you have departed from their doctrine—that you may appear not to be upstart indeed.

You would shew a difference betwixt yourselves and the Mahometans, where you say, p. 20, “ that they deny the Apostles’ Creed in the very letter.” But, sir, this is not true ; do they deny the first article, of believing in God ? Nor do they the others. You say, (*ibid.*) that they deny Christ to be the Son of God ; I say, no more than you do : they say that Christ was born of a virgin, without the touch of a man, by the immediate operation of God. See the Alcoran, chap. iii. p. 44, of the English edition in octavo, 1688. And in this sense they deny him not to be the Son of God. And you allow it in no other sense than this ; there they say, “ Remem-  
ber thou how the angels said, O Mary, God declareth unto thee a word, from which shall proceed the Messias, named Jesus, the son of Mary, full of honour in this world, and that shall be in the other of the number of intercessors with his divine Majesty.”

And this is all that you attribute to him, the office of an intercessor, as is fully shewed before.

But you say (*ibid.*) that they deny he was crucified, dead and buried, and that he rose from the dead.

This is all only that he did not die, for then he was not buried, nor rose again : and this is no more than what some Christian heretics have said, that he died only in appearance or show. And they would have taken it as ill as you do, not to be reckoned Christians : for they thought they did this for his honour, and as not thinking it consistent with the



justice of God to suffer so innocent and excellent a person to be thus treated: they were ignorant of the reason you give for his sufferings, only to try how much he could suffer, though God knew it all before; yet he would try the experiment! and though his death was not necessary to his being an intercessor. Therefore Mahomet, who was but a degree removed from an Arian, thought he improved upon the matter when he could save the death of Christ, without any hinderance to his being an intercessor: and Mahomet seemed to be as good a Christian as you in this, who make the death of Christ of no manner of effect as to our redemption.

Especially considering what you say in the words immediately following, “that in the subjection to “the laws of Christ the very essence of a Christian “lies, more than in right systems of faith.” So that if a Mahometan, Jew, or pagan leads a good moral life, he has the very essence of a Christian, and then no doubt is a Christian, let his system of faith be what it will!

But, sir, there are other good works besides what we call good moral works, as of justice betwixt man and man. Thus when the Jews said to Christ,

John vi. 28, *What shall we do, that we may work the works of*  
29. *God?* he gave them this answer, *This is the work*

ver. 53. *of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.* And again, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his*

viii. 24. *blood, ye have no life in you.* This must at least be meant of believing in his death and passion. And, *For if ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins.* Here is something given us to understand as to the purging of our defects, and making



an atonement for our past sins. This is beyond morality, and to be found only in Christianity; which you would reduce back again to plain morality, by making that (and not faith) the essence of a Christian: whereas morality being common to all men, though improved by Christ, is not to be called Christianity, notwithstanding it is enjoined by Christianity; but faith only is the essence of Christianity, and by this only is a Christian distinguished from other men, from heathens, Jews, and Mahometans, and I will add from Socinians, who, as you have shewed, have no faith in the sacrifice and atonement made by the death of Christ for sin, and openly plead the no necessity of it as to remission; and now you have dwindled it down to nothing but a system of morality, wherein faith is not essential! For surely all that morality might have been taught us by a prophet or an angel, without any need of Christ's coming, far less of his dying.

But to make an end of this comparison betwixt you and the Mahometans, I desire you to shew me which of our present Unitarians now among us have given so great honour to Christ as what you will find in the Alcoran, at the end of chap. iv. p. 82, of the edition before quoted, in these words:

“ The Messiah, Jesus, the son of Mary, is a prophet, and apostle of God, his Word, and his Spirit, which he sent to Mary.”

Here Jesus is called *the Word of God*; which our Unitarians expressly deny, only say that the Word or Spirit dwelt in Jesus as in other holy men. See my Second Dialogue, from the beginning to p. 118. So that here the Mahometans are much better Christians than the Socinians.

But, sir, I think you had not reason to take it ill that I compared you with Mahometans, considering that you take the liberty to make us as bad as pagans: for proof of this I quoted one of the late Sociinian treatises, entitled, *A Letter of Resolution concerning the Doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation*; which he calls “modern Christianity,” and says of it, p. 18, “that it is no better nor other than “a sort of paganism and heathenism:” and he represents the Tartars as acting more rationally in embracing “the more plausible sect of Mahomet,” than the Christian faith.

For this you fall foul upon me, p. 21, and say to me, “—whether the Unitarians ever said, paganism “is preferable to the Christian doctrine, as you assert in your preface; and it will concern you to “shew that you make some conscience of what you “write, by making that heavy charge good; if you “cannot do it—”

There is no more of it in my preface that I can find than what is above quoted, which you will see there, p. 39. And there are not the words you quote as mine; so that I may return upon you, “making conscience of what you write:” especially quotations ought to be exact.

But you cannot deny that you make Mahometism preferable to Christianity, by calling it *more rational* and *more plausible*; and you put heathenism upon the level with it, when you say that our Christianity “is no better nor other than a sort of paganism.” This is the utmost moderation you pretend to.

And pray what do you say less in this same place? You say,

“I know they (the Unitarians) may have said

“ that the doctrine of the Trinity, of real persons  
“ or minds in the Godhead, is like the pagan plu-  
“ rality of gods.”

Sir, you put in here the word *minds*, which was made use of by one doctor only, by way of explanation, as he thought, but has met with no approbation among us, nor ought to be charged upon the Christian faith, there being no such word in any of our Creeds. But however, you yourself here make our Christian faith like the pagan plurality—and will you own us then as Christian brethren?

XXVII. But you have another *like* for me too: you say to me in the next words, “ And I think you  
“ have shewn something like it (the pagan plurality  
“ of gods) in producing the testimony of heathens  
“ to a Trinity.”

This, sir, is indeed like yourself! Your great objection against the doctrine of the Trinity is, that it is against reason, even to a contradiction; and therefore was a stranger to all the world, till of late years invented by the Christians; and therefore is a stumblingblock to Jews and heathens, to keep them from Christianity: which objection I turned into an argument, that it could not be of human invention, it being so much above reason, but that it must come therefore from that revelation which I shewed was made of it from the beginning, but more obscurely than as it has since been declared in the gospel: that the Jews therefore retained a dim idea of it, and the heathens learned it from them; whence Plato and their more refined philosophers endeavoured to reconcile it to reason: which I quoted to shew that it was not wholly unknown to the Gentiles, at least to the most learned of them;



and that they found no contradiction in it, for they measured it not grossly, as you do, by applying it to the persons of men.

Having thus gained the point upon you, you now turn the tables, and put the objection in the quite contrary way; and whereas the doctrine of the Trinity was before nothing short of a contradiction, and impossible to be believed by men of sense or reason; now it is the invention of the men of the most refined reason in the world, who being pagans, the Trinity must be a pagan plurality!

But, sir, the pagan plurality had nothing to do with the notion which the wiser of them had of the holy Trinity, and centred it in the unity, not to make a plurality of gods; whereas the gods they commonly worshipped were divers persons separated and divided from each other, of different interests, and often fighting with one another; they made gods of men, and therefore measured them wholly according to the different persons of men: and you, following their example, have accounted for the Trinity just after the same manner; whence come all the contradictions and absurdities with which you have involved yourself, and would put upon others, not being willing to understand their true meaning.

XXVIII. After this, p. 21, 22, you seek to make advantage to your cause by the explanation Dr. Sherlock lately ventured to make of this great mystery: and from the polytheism charged by some as a consequence of his explanation, you would infer polytheism in some Christians, at least in the opinion of others; and you would equal this with the pagan plurality.



But, sir, no man is to be charged with consequences he does not see or own; for at this rate every sin may be improved by argument and consequences up even to atheism: yet it would not be just to call every sinner an atheist. Dr. Sherlock held the doctrine of the Trinity as professed in the Athanasian Creed: and if he had been convinced that his explanation had been contrary to this, no doubt he would have retracted his explanation. But is this the case of those who openly and professedly deny the doctrine itself, and dispute against it? This only shews a mind to cavil, and catch at every advantage.

XXIX. You next, p. 22, 23, make the same use of all parties taking to themselves the name of *the church*. But, sir, they all say that truth likewise is on their side. Is there therefore no such thing as truth to be found in the world, as you would have no such thing as church?

I hope I have shewed in my Dialogues what the current sense of the church was, even before the first council of Nice, concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. And if this has met with great opposition, it is no more than other truths have suffered. Must we believe no revelation, because we have Deists; nor any God, because there are Atheists? and must we believe no true church, because there are many false pretenders?

Sir, these sort of topics shew only that your cause is destitute; they tend only to scepticism, which is no more on your side than ours: and whoever use it are bewildered, and have a mind to hide themselves, and avoid arguments they cannot answer: it is raising a dust, that we may not see our way;

it is like scoffing Pilate, who asked, *What is truth?* but would not stay for an answer.

XXX. You end with a declamation against persecution; but can instance only in yourself, (among all our Unitarians,) and that by the presbyterians, and in a country where there is no toleration for Socinians. But since you have come under the protection of our laws, you have had city-halls for your meeting-houses, and free liberty to preach till you were weary, without making any recantation, but to gain what proselytes you could: nor have you met with any disturbance that I hear of, unless you think that my writing against your principles is a persecution! And yet I run more hazard by it than you do!

You confess the Arians (your predecessors) were persecutors in their turn; but you think the Socinians would not be so now.

Sir, if you were to take a man's picture for likeness, would you have it drawn when he was in full health, or when he was altered by sickness? My meaning is, that what men would do is best known when they are in power; then you must take their likeness: neither their voice nor their looks are the same when they are under hatches; nay, their minds sink too: you know not how you would alter, if you had another Arian emperor, and the laws on your side.

Would you then think it proper to give toleration to open blasphemy and idolatry, as you think our system of Christianity is? Would you not urge that these were made capital by God himself, under the law, and kings severely punished by God for suffering these? Would you not say it was the magis-

trate's duty to see that God should not be dishonoured more than the king? Would you not think yourself answerable (if you were a king) to give license to all vile heresies to spread, and corrupt the faith? Nay, if you were a bishop, would you not be afraid of the judgment pronounced against the bishop of Thyatira? *Because thou sufferest that* Rev. ii. 20. *woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants.* And against the bishop of Laodicea? *Because thou art* luke-iii. 16. *warm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.* Would you not consider that all the good works wherein you put your trust, and think them the essence of Christianity, would not avail in this case? For thus saith the Son of God to the bishop of Thyatira; *I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first. Notwithstanding, because thou sufferest that woman, &c.* Would you not be afraid, when all these good works could not excuse for suffering any to teach and to seduce the servants of the Lord? when this one negligent act in the governor of a church should outweigh the greatest personal holiness, which could not make amends for the mischief of his remissness or moderation, far greater than all his holiness, in suffering the servants of God to be seduced by false teachers? Will any good act a shepherd can do countervail his not watching, and suffering the wolves to come in among the sheep? Will not their blood be required at the hands of such a watchman, who blew not the trumpet, though he was saying his prayers all the while, or giving all his goods among the poor, or his very body to be



burnt? Can he do any thing so acceptable to God as to maintain his post, and take care of the souls committed to his charge?

You say, p. 23, “ It is the inviolable unalienable “ right of a reasonable being to worship and profess, “ according to his conscience, so long as nothing is “ done to the injury of the commonwealth in its “ proper concernments. Have not the Unitarians a “ God and a conscience, &c.?”

And have not kings and bishops conscience too? And what if these interfere?

But how come you to limit conscience here? You put an exception to the plea of conscience, that “ no “ injury be done to the commonwealth in its pro- “ per concernments.” And what are these concernments? and who is judge which concernments are proper to the commonwealth? It may assume concernments which are not proper to it.

But in the next place, is not religion a concernment that is proper to a commonwealth? and are not diversities of religions found to be hurtful to commonwealths, especially where they all claim a share in the administration? Why else have we excluded the papists, and Holland all that are not of the established church, from being members of the states?

But may conscience be tied up in these concernments, and not in that which is far greater, the eternal concernment? And if endangering a commonwealth is a sufficient reason to restrain the plea of conscience, lest it do hurt to others, in temporal things; must that plea be allowed to seduce as many as it can in what concerns their eternal welfare?



Come, sir, speak out; would you, if you were a governor either in church or state, give free toleration to infidels and heathens, and see them seduce before your face all your subjects from Christianity? Would you think this a good account of your stewardship?

If you say that you are in the right, and they in the wrong, you give up your whole cause: where is then that “inviolable unalienable right of every “reasonable being to worship and profess according “to his conscience?”

I have said thus much upon this head, because it is the most plausible topic whereby unthinking people are seduced to give disturbance to any establishment either in church or state. What! not to give a man the liberty of his conscience! and they see no harm at all in this! And yet not one of them would allow it, if they were in power; they would then soon see the mischief of it.

If any think I reason not aright, I will put it to the test of fact. Shew me then that church or society of men in the world who have not persecuted (as they call it) some time or other, when they had the power.

All restraint is called persecution by those on whom it is laid; and they would desire to be freed from it. There is not a sect in England but would be the established church if they could, and no doubt will be, whenever it is in their power; therefore it cannot be safe to let them have votes in our legislature. And this is so far from being a persecution, that it is a necessary caution in every wise establishment; and whoever complain of it for persecution have designs in their head.

You have led me out of the way of our subject by following you : however, I hope this digression will not be unserviceable.

I pray God give us a right understanding in all things ; those especially which concern our eternal peace.

A  
SUPPLEMENT,  
IN  
ANSWER TO MR. CLENDON'S TRACTATUS  
PHILOSOPHICO-THEOLOGICUS:  
OR,  
A TREATISE OF THE WORD *PERSON*.

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Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the  
ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, and hath not sat in  
the seat of the scornful. *PSALM i. 1.*





## P R E F A C E.

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THE censure of this book of Mr. Clendon's by the parliament, with the order for his being prosecuted for it, shews how much he has mistaken his text, the act of parliament which he took for his foundation of the doctrine of the blessed Trinity.

This might have saved my pains as to the explanation of that act : but these papers were wrote (all to sect. x.) before the late trial of Dr. Sacheverel, which occasioned that sentence upon Mr. Clendon, among other blasphemous writers of the age.

My publishing them now is that sort of persecution which only I have aimed at ; to convert, if I can, if not, to confute these enemies of Christianity. If the latter be the case, it will be a greater mortification to men conceited of their own wit than any legal penalties : and they are apt to say that this is all the confutation can be given them, and to glory in their own confessorship to the vilest of heresies !

This then is to disarm Mr. Clendon and the rest of his Socinian accomplices of that sort of triumph : if it have not the happier effect of inducing them to repentance ; which is the victory I desire over them ; and I pray heartily for them, that God would open their eyes, and let them see his glory *in the face of Jesus Christ* : to whom be all honour, might, majesty, and dominion, from all creatures, converted sinners especially, now and for ever. Amen.



## A SUPPLEMENT,

IN ANSWER TO MR. CLENDON.

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I. SINCE the foregoing sheets were printed off, an old Socinian in the Temple has entered the lists against me: I therefore stopped the publication of them till I had read over this *tædulus*, entitled, “*Tractatus Philosophico-Theologicus de Personâ*, or, A Treatise of the word *Person*, by John Clendon of the Inner-Temple, Esq. Printed for John Walthoe in the Middle-Temple Cloisters, 1710.” to find whether there were any new matter in this, which should require a distinct answer by itself, or that it might be despatched in a supplement to what goes before; and I easily determined to the latter; for though it is a large book of 224 pages, besides two Epistles Dedicatory, and one to the Reader, all the sense or argument in it might be put into a nutshell. Nor had I thought it worthy of any notice, but that it seems the last effort, and exposes this baffled cause even to contempt; and because I heard some lay stress upon it, and say it had gained a vogue about the town.

II. In the beginning of his Epistle to the Reader he falls upon me with a great deal of wit, calling me *brute*, and such like names, for a whole page together, and concludes, that “my Sociniansim Dis-

“cussed is not worth answering, and that he scorns  
“to answer it!”

1. Yet he gives one stroke at me, and quotes my Fourth Dialogue, p. 293, where I brought an allusion, that God is named in the Creed as a nature or species to individuals, and then that the three Persons are named, *the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*; whence he would infer that I meant God to be a species, and the three Persons to be really and truly individuals in a strict and proper sense, though I have frequently through these Dialogues guarded against any allusions to God being so taken; and here I word it with an *as*, to shew it was but an allusion, as it is expressed in the Second Dialogue, p. 112, “*as it were* a species:” yet he takes no notice, but proves it to be tritheism by this strong argument; “Now what plainer and more impudent tritheism  
“than this can be asserted by man?—Surely no-  
“thing can be more.” And thus it is proved!

2. I have told you often (but you will not mind) that God is neither genus, nor species, nor individual, nor person, in the sense these words are taken, and as they are used among men; and therefore that we must not argue strictly from them with relation to God, nor infer contradictions from them in God, because we find it so among men; for these are only allusions, not proper words as to God, though the best we have; as when God is called *light*, if we should argue strictly from thence, what contradictions might we find? Yet this is the whole Socinian topic, to find contradictions in the Trinity of God from the acceptation of the word *persons* as applied to men. How often have I told the Remarker upon my Dialogues of this! and he was



forced to yield my observation to be just, and that it was no fair way of argument, and pretended he did not do it; yet they cannot refrain it: here is now come out a whole book *de Personá*; and all, as it is applied to men by orators and logicians. And thence Mr. Clendon musters up his arguments against the Trinity, applying the word *persons* to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the same manner as to Peter, James, and John.

3. The Socinians pretended to the scriptures, and published their Brief History of the Unitarians upon most of the texts from Genesis to the Revelations which are usually brought for the doctrine of the holy Trinity; they likewise asserted that the Fathers before the first council of Nice were on their side. In answer to both which pretences I published these Dialogues, and upon most, if not all of these texts, I not only argue from the general and known acceptation of the words, supported by other parallel texts, but give the interpretation of the Fathers before the first council of Nice upon each text controverted, and shewed them to be entirely on the Christian side of the question, and against the misrepresentation of the Unitarians or Socinians.

4. Now when I saw this great book come out against me, and begin with my Dialogues, I thought to have found some reply to these things; but all the notice he takes of them is in his p. 62, 63, where he quotes a few other texts which I had not named, and says, that these he names do not prove the thing.

III. But, p. 56, he throws at all our scriptures as deficient, and says, "The gospel of the twelve apo-

“ stles, and other writings of those holy men, were  
 “ most of them either rejected as spurious, or sup-  
 “ pressed, or otherwise apocryphated ; and those  
 “ few only were allowed of as canonical which were  
 “ of such notoriety that they could not be concealed,  
 “ and which remain now to us at this day : this  
 “ was one necessary piece of artifice they used.”  
 This *they* was the church, which he bespatters  
 every where, and here accuses of vitiating, con-  
 cealing, and rejecting the true scriptures ; by which  
 he means those false gospels and other pseudo-  
 scriptures which the predecessors of the Socinians  
 had forged in those early times, to support the same  
 heresy. This I shewed in the same Fourth Dia-  
 logue he quotes, but four leaves (as in the first edit.)  
 after what he quotes, p. 305, and tell from Euse-  
 bius and Theodoret how these heretics, then called  
 Nazarens, were detected in forging new scriptures,  
 and corrupting the old, which some of them had the  
 impudence to own, and called it mending the scrip-  
 tures ; others of them rejected the Law and the  
 Prophets, and other parts of the holy scriptures, as  
 they thought fit ; but of this Mr. Clendon takes no  
 notice, (may-be he never read it,) but trumps up  
 again the pretences of these condemned heretics, in  
 opposition to the whole catholic church, which he  
 despises, as I come to shew more fully.

IV. In his dedication to the lord chancellor, he  
 says, p. 9, “ My lord, I have had no regard to fa-  
 “ thers or schoolmen, nor to councils or their  
 “ creeds.” And in his book, p. 170, he says, “ The  
 “ notions of God, and God the Son, and God as the  
 “ Son of God, is what we have from the Fathers and  
 “ their philosophy, and not from revelation.” And

p. 173, 174, " And this hath been the doctrine of the  
" schools and the catholic church hitherto—And  
" since the Animadverter had swallowed thus much,  
" which doubtless he did upon the authority of the  
" catholic church, and so never considered it—"  
p. 175. " And this doctrine of the schoolmen and ca-  
" tholic church—must be utterly impracticable," &c.  
p. 194. " Nor ought we in this case to be fobbed  
" off with mystery, nor with the authority of the  
" church: and what church is it they mean at last,  
" do you think? Even the catholic church." And,  
p. 195, " 'Tis the catholic church they are so fond  
" of, for the support of whose authority, forsooth,  
" we must be kept in ignorance all they can, and  
" the truth concealed from us." Again, p. 215, " The  
" three hypostases of the Fathers, construed three  
" subsistences, and three persons by the schools, is  
" the doctrine of the catholic church; and so it is  
" in many other things. All this ado is to support  
" the authority of a catholic church." The reader  
(if any other but myself must undergo that penance)  
will find abundance of the like contempt of the ca-  
tholic church throughout this tedious book; and I  
suppose others will be content with what is here  
produced.

1. But it is not only in words he expresses his  
rage against the catholic church; he gives his rea-  
son, and excludes all Gentiles from Christianity: he  
allows none to be true Christians, or to have had  
the faith, but the Jewish converts only, and these he  
supposes to be extinguished in the reign of Adrian  
the emperor: after which, he says, the Gentiles came  
in and corrupted the faith, " and they were fain to  
" bid a perpetual adieu to the true apostolic doctrine



“ of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ.” Thus he expresses it, p. 51. And again, p. 69, he repeats it again, and says, “ After Adrian’s time, when the “ Christians of the circumcision were wholly extirpated with the Jews, and no bishops to be but of “ the Gentiles, the Christians became no more than “ another sect in philosophy : they called themselves “ Christians indeed, but as Melito there says, their “ doctrines were the same philosophy that had been “ among the Ethnics.” And, p. 70, “ Thus it was,” says he, “ that the old evangelic apostolic doctrines “ concerning our Saviour were lost.” And how has father Clendon found them again? In Simon Magus, Cerinthus, Sabellius, and Socinus, and in the gospel of the twelve apostles and other writings of those holy men, which have been lost these one thousand five hundred years !

2. He says (as I have before quoted him) that it was one necessary piece of artifice the church used, to admit none of these holy writings into the canon of the scripture, but those few only which were of such notoriety that they could not be gainsaid : and was not this an honest artifice, to admit nothing dubious into the canon? But they were not dubious, for, as I quoted Eusebius in my Fourth Dialogue, p. 305, there were notorious marks of imposture upon those he calls holy writings, which were set up by these heretics in the names of the apostles ; as, that all the copies they produced were in their own hands ; and they could shew no original whence they were transcribed ; and that even the copies which went about among them did not agree with one another.

3. But he says that those books in the canon are



a few only; and yet he thinks they are too many. I have taken notice before how the Socinians have endeavoured to invalidate several books of holy scripture, particularly all the writings of St. John, because he speaks most expressly of the Trinity and divinity of Christ, he having wrote the latest of any of the apostles, and after Cerinthus and others had broached their heresies against both these doctrines. And Mr. Clendon does not conceal his contempt of St. John; he calls him *poor St. John*, p. 75, and says of him, p. 42, “The good evangelist was not skilled in their philosophy, and so was not a match for them.” Again, p. 46, “He, good man, notwithstanding his great age, for the peace of the church, undertakes to write.” And to help out this poor old man, Mr. Clendon ventures to mend his text for him; as you will see, p. 33, where, instead of our literal translation of John v. 26, *As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given (ἐδωκε) to the Son to have life in himself*, Mr. Clendon renders it thus, *So shall be given to the Son, &c.*; that is, in the Socinian notion, that it should be given him after his resurrection, but not that he had life in himself before. It is frequent with the Socinians to take this liberty with the texts of scripture, as I have shewed in many instances in my Dialogues.

V. Mr. Clendon having thus made bold with the scriptures, and quite thrown off the catholic church, let us see what foundation he gives to the doctrine of the holy Trinity, and his account how it came first into the world. With this he begins his second chapter, and makes it a mere heathenish invention: he mentions the *Τριάς*, or Trinity of Plato, consisting of the three hypostases or persons in the Deity, and

that in these three principles of origination the whole *πλήρωμα* or *fulness* of the Deity did consist. “And this,” says he, p. 24, “I take it, was the first news that the world had of a divine Trinity.”

1. But, Mr. Clendon, those texts out of the Old Testament which are considered in my Second Dialogue, were long before Plato, therefore he might take it from them; it was impossible they could take it from him: and you should have cleared up these texts better than I have done, before you had thus confidently made Plato the original of this doctrine.

2. And what is now become of that master argument of the Socinians, that the doctrine of the Trinity is contradictory to all common sense and reason, and brought in by the Christians upon their mistake of some texts of scripture, which the Socinians pretend to explain better? yet now they would make it the invention of the heathen, of their principal and most celebrated philosophers, men of the most refined reason; and that the Christians did learn it from them!

3. But it was not the invention of either Jew or Gentile: no reason of man could have searched so far into the abyss of the nature of God. It was at the first made known to man by revelation, and it has descended down through all ages by tradition, chiefly of the Jews, who had the lively oracles committed unto them, wherein this divine mystery was contained; and from whence, in all probability, Plato and the most acute of the heathen philosophers did take it, for the Old Testament was known unto them: and the fathers of the church did quote the Old Testament for this doctrine of the Trinity, (as appears

by what I have quoted of them upon the texts of the Old Testament,) not the philosophers, or the Cabbala of the Jews, as Mr. Clendon foolishly imagines. I have insisted upon this in my Second Dialogue, sect. XV. num. 3, 4, but Mr. Clendon repeats the objection here over again, without taking any notice of the answers there given.

4. I have told before how Mr. Clendon throws off the Greek church and the whole catholic church ever since the Jewish Christians were extirpated in the reign of Adrian, who only, he says, held the faith uncorrupted: for that the Greek and Gentile converts brought in the pagan philosophy, and corrupted the Christian religion by it. But forgetting this, he, p. 27, 28, makes the Jews the first who took this philosophy into revealed religion, and by this had established the doctrine of the Trinity before Christianity began: and, p. 28, he quotes Mr. Dodwell, shewing how Moses became of authority among the Gentile philosophers, and was quoted by them by the name of *ὁ προφήτης*, *the prophet*. They who advance new systems had need of good memories.

VI. Well, but Mr. Clendon will have philosophy to be the corrupter of revealed religion, take it how you will. He says, p. 216, “ That the Christian doctrine was eclipsed and obscured by the dark-  
“ some cloud of these mishmash doctrines of fathers  
“ and schoolmen, which make up the doctrine of the  
“ catholic church.” And how does he set about to cure this? Even by entering into the very dregs of this mishmash! His whole book is nothing else but a fulsome and tedious repetition of quoddities and quiddities, and shewing his parts upon the differ-



ence betwixt *ens*, *essence*, and *existence*; betwixt *substance* and *subsistence*, *accidents* and *adjuncts*; *suppositum*, *person*, and *personality*; besides *modalities* and *suppositalities*, &c. as different from all these! And out of this deep fountain of learning he has extracted, as he thinks, the true notion of the word *person*, which gives the title to his book, *De Persona*, or, A Treatise of the word *Person*. And then he applies this to the word *persons* as used in relation to the holy Trinity, and cries Εὐρηκα, he has untied the Gordian knot!

VII. Now let us see what he makes of this: this is the *jugulum causæ*. And here you will find a performance worthy of himself! He begins, p. 12, with giving the definition of the word *person* and of *personality*; and this he makes to consist in whatever accidental thing distinguishes one man from another, the colour of his hair, his phiz; p. 13, his features, complexion, or countenance, his dress; p. 15, 16, address, mien, deportment, &c. As likewise any accidental accomplishment of the mind, as wisdom, learning, religion, &c. “Of this sort of accidents,” says he, “also are all honours, dignities, offices, and employments of trust, power, or profit, and the like:” every one of these he makes to be a personality which does constitute the person.

1. And by the same rule he says, p. 16, “The same one man may be several persons in those several respects; viz. as he is a wise man he may be one person, as he is a learned man another, and as he is a religious man another.” And by the foresaid description of phiz, mien, dress, &c. when his beard grows he is one person, and when he is shaved he is another; when he has a black



coat on he is one person, and another person when he has a coloured coat ; he is different persons when he looks sour or sweet, when he makes a mouth, walks, dances, or stands still ; when he sleeps, walks, &c. : for these are several personalities, and it is the personality makes the person. “ And hence it is,” says he, p. 17, “ that one particular essence may “ from the several personalities be as properly called “ several persons, as several particular essences can “ from their several personalities be several persons : “ for that in the one case, as well as in the other, we “ contemplate the entire particular essence in con- “ junction with the personality that makes the per- “ son.

“ And so it is also of personalities that result from “ dignities, offices, professions, employments, and the “ like. Her majesty the queen of Great Britain, as “ she is queen of England, is one person ; as she is “ queen of Scotland, she is another person ; and as “ she is queen of Ireland, she is another person.”

2. “ And for this,” says he, p. 18, “ I think I “ shall need no better authority than M. T. Cicero, “ whom all must allow to be a competent judge of “ the Latin tongue : ’tis he that thus expresseth “ himself, viz. *Exiit homo personam amici, quando “ induit iudicis.* And again, *Sustineo unus tres “ personas, mei, adversarii, iudicis.* And they are “ frequent phrases in Latin authors, viz. *personam “ agere, sustinere, induere, exuere, deponere, &c.*— “ So that *persona*, as to the true Latinity of the “ word”—&c. Thus Mr. Clendon.

The word *Latinity* here was well found out, for it chimes more with the school terminations of *ident- ity, substantiality, personality, &c.* than plain Latin

would have done! But, Mr. Clendon, you needed not have gone so far for these deep observations, for even in the *Englishity* of the word, to *personate* another is taken in the same sense, as when you mimic another, or a player acts or personates a pèdant upon the stage, &c. Does this really make him another person than he is? Does he hereby become a bencher of the Temple, or reader at the trumpet-club?

3. You fall foul, p. 124, upon Mr. Samuel Hill, rector of Killmington, as a zealous defender of the Greek fathers, “as appears,” say you, “by a very unmannerly book he wrote some time since against “the bishop of Salisbury.” But what you have to say to him is, touching his notion of a person: which he thought he could explain without your cramp words of *suppositums*, *subsistences*, &c. and says, as you quote him, p. 138, “that from that true, vital, “substantial union that is between the soul and the “body results the person of Peter, who is com-  
“pounded of both.” This you call a new notion of a person: though I dare say it is the commonest in England, and what every man means by a person, who is not so book-learned as Mr. Clendon: but you ridicule it thus, p. 139;

“No need now of subsistence or suppositum to  
“help out the notion of a person. Peter, as com-  
“pounded of a soul and body by a vital union of  
“both, is a sufficient person: he can eat, and drink,  
“and walk, and understand, and that’s a person  
“sufficient.”

But you reply smartly upon him, “a man suffi-  
“cient, good Mr. Examiner, but not a person.” So you distinguish betwixt the man and the person:

so that when Peter eats, drinks, &c. a man eats and drinks, but not a person. And why? Personality neither eats nor drinks; no, nor the mannality neither. But Peter cannot be a man without being likewise a person; and the person of Peter does every thing that the man of Peter can do. O rare philosophy! Is not this what you just now called mishmash, Mr. Clendon? and what shameful use do you make of it, to confound common sense and manner of speaking! You made so slight of a person before, that a pair of new shoes made a new person: and now you are so strict, that you will not let a man be a person with himself, but thrust in personalities and suppositivities between them!

4. But you stick close to your parallel of the queen and the Trinity, which I have quoted; you are so fond of it that you repeat it again, p. 142, and say,

“ Thus ’tis (as I instanced before) of the triple  
“ personality in the queen’s majesty, with respect to  
“ the triple diadem she wears; in respect of one of  
“ them, she is one complete person; in respect of  
“ another, she is another complete person; and in  
“ respect of the third, she is a third person: and  
“ yet she is in herself but one complete, individual,  
“ numerical essence or being.”

But that it may be yet more conspicuous, he puts it in again near the end of his Epistle Dedicatory to the Earl of Sunderland, thus, “ and really, my  
“ lord, I would not profane the Deity to flatter  
“ the greatest and best prince in the world. But I  
“ do think the queen’s majesty, with respect to her  
“ three kingdoms, to be a most apposite emblem of  
“ the personal triplicity in the divine unity. She



“ is in each respect a particular person, and yet in  
“ every respect she is one and the same particular  
“ royal essence.”

5. Mr. Clendon, will you let me philosophise a little with you? Is royalty an essence? I took it for a personal thing; but if it be of the essence, then surely no king or queen can either forfeit or abdicate, unless you say, it is of the essence of the personality. And will that be good philosophy? How then will essence and personality be distinguished? or has a man as many essences as he has personalities? You have given him so many personalities, that he cannot continue one person an hour together, if he open or shut his mouth, make a wry face, or alter any thing of his phiz, mien, or dress. And does he lose one essence, and gain another, upon every one of these changes of his person? Essence is substance, and the personalities you have named are accidents; you call them so: tell me then what is the substance of an accident? and how then do they differ?

6. If you call this cavilling, I will readily grant it, for I know your meaning; but then it will answer all your book; for the *hypostases* of the Greeks and *persons* of the Latin and English mean the same thing, and they have sufficiently explained themselves not to mean three Gods; and all you have said against this is such poor cavilling upon words, upon substance, subsistence, and accident, as I have now shewed you.

7. But to go on with your Dedication: you after address the queen, by her secretary of state, to give peace to Christianity in this vexatious point of the Trinity. And how? Even “ by the great instance



“ of her royal self,” as you have explained her trinity, and so “ put an end to the long wrangling “ polemics of the learned ;” that who think otherwise of the holy Trinity of God than of this trinity of the queen may be silenced !

And to make this your emblem of the holy Trinity more apposite, you tell his lordship in the next words, that her majesty has been lately graciously pleased to drop one of her personalities, by the union of England and Scotland ; so that she is now but two persons, one for Great Britain and one for Ireland : so that if the personalities be no more essential in the Deity than in the queen, as you say they are not, then these personalities in the Godhead may be dropt too in time, which you hope, and have thus endeavoured, to bring to pass !

8. If persons were answerable for dedications to them, or supposed to see them before, or to approve them afterwards, or to patronise such books inscribed to their names, what a terrible reflection would it be to these two noble lords under whose protection Mr. Clendon has presumed to usher his book into the world !

And no doubt the piety of the queen (if she knew of this book) would resent with indignation that blasphemous emblem made of her, and her three imaginary persons, to the holy Trinity of the most high God !

9. But, Mr. Clendon, tell me, could one of these persons of the queen be a maid, another a wife, and another widow ? Could her person in England have a son, and her person in Scotland have none ? I ask this, because it fully explains your emblem of the holy Trinity : for by persons you mean (with Sa-

bellius) only several manifestations of God : and you might make three thousand or three hundred thousand of such persons ; for every act of God is a manifestation of God, and shews his power, wisdom, &c. ; every star in heaven, and every pile of grass, every man, bird, beast, fish, &c. ; in short, every creature : and you might multiply the persons of the queen into as many countries, parishes, families, or men, as she commands ; and into as many variations of her phiz, mien, dress, &c. as you please to imagine ; then add the many endowments of her mind ; then all her honours, dignities, offices, &c. ; all which you make several personalities ; and you may make as many persons of her as Hobbs does of his leviathan !

10. But now, Mr. Clendon, I must mind you of your philosophy again ; for a manifestation is nothing of itself, it is only a word whereby to express our conception of the thing that is manifested to us. Thus your several persons of the queen are only several manifestations of her power in several places and in different manners : and this is all you make of the persons of God. But, sir, a manifestation, as it is no person, so it can do no personal action : a manifestation cannot eat and drink, marry and beget children ; it cannot send or be sent of an errand. Was it only a manifestation then that was made flesh, that was sent of God to do such things upon earth, to suffer, die, and be buried ? Was it the blood of a manifestation only that is called *the blood of God* ? Acts xx. 28. Are we baptized into the faith and worship of manifestations only, that is, of nothing but imaginations of our own, or the conceptions of our mind ? for God is not named in

the Christian form of baptism, but only the three persons, which you call manifestations only. Do you not worship then your own imaginations? for you can make nothing else of manifestations. And is it not strange that Christ should command us to be baptized in the name of manifestations only, without a word of the person that was manifested to us? And this must be, if what Mr. Clendon calls the *manifestations* were not the *persons* of the Deity.

11. But he calls them *persons* too; for he cannot (through the multitude of his philosophy) find out the difference betwixt the actor and the action done by him, but calls the action *the actor*, or *the person that acts*. He says, p. 181, “that the Apostles’ Creed does plainly assign the personality of the “Father to be the maker of heaven and earth.”

Why, Mr. Clendon? was he not a person before? or did he become a new person by the creation he made? and where does the Creed call this his personality? Your assurance is not a little!

You say, p. 180, “And the act of our redemption “must surely be the personality of the Son.” But was he not a person before that act? else how could he do it? Or did he change his person by that act? Then it was not the same person that died who rose again; for death makes a greater alteration in the person than any of these personalities you have named, of phiz or dress, &c.

But you go on and say, p. 181, of the third Person, “and the gracious act of our sanctification must “be the personality of the Holy Ghost.” Then he was not the Holy Ghost before. But you make these three acts of *creation*, *redemption*, and *sancti-*



*fication*, the several personalities of God, as you say, p. 183, "the personalities of *creation* and *redemption*," &c. And you explain what you mean by *personalities*, that is, only manifestations of God, as you say, p. 181, "the one true God, under these three gracious manifestations of himself in our creation, redemption, and sanctification." And, p. 186, "These external acts of our *creation*, *redemption*, and *sanctification*, are taken for the personalities." And, p. 188, "These personalities are *extra-essentialities*." What are they then? Are they *accidentalities*? "No," (say you, *ibid.*) "there are no accidents in God." Where are we now? What! are they neither *essentialities* nor *accidentalities*? You say they are *modalities*. And what are these *modalities*? You say, "it is and must be agreed in all philosophical reasoning, that *accidents*, *ad-juncts*, and whatsoever doth modify essence, must be extrinsecal to the essence modified." Then these modalities are something less than accidents. They are nothing but a thought in our brain of the manner how an accident does modify an essence; of which we know not one tittle: for an accident itself is only the like imagination of ours, that because we find there are things hard or soft, therefore we fancy such a thing as hardness or softness, and so discourse of these words as if they were real things; and these we call accidents, which in themselves are nothing at all. And if accidents are nothings, what are the modalities of accidents? These must be nothing of nothing! And if there are no accidents in God, how can there be modalities of accidents in him?

We see now to what Mr. Clendon has brought the



persons of God by his philosophy, to be nothings, and less than nothing! Is not this philosophy of his very charming and edifying? O happy club, where these lectures are daily read!

12. But I must not conceal the reason he gives for all this jargon. You have it p. 188, "For that there ought to be some analogy between the divine personalities and personalities among men." Here is what I have so often told the Socinians, that they will measure God by man, and his persons by our persons, because we have no words that are proper whereby to express God, but all borrowed from terms we use as to one another. Hence they bring all their contradictions as to the Trinity from what the words will bear in relation to men: and yet in this they fall into contradictions in their own way; as Mr. Clendon, in this same page 188, "There are no accidents in God," says he, "but nevertheless these acts that I propose to be the personalities, and to constitute the divine persons, are sufficiently analogous to the personalities among men, in that they are extra-essential, as the personalities among men are." First, it is not so among men; for the personality of a man is essential to the man, that is, he is a person by the union of his soul and body, and when these are separated, he is no more that person: this is the acceptation of a person among men, in all common sense, and as generally understood. And your making the change of a wig or a coat to be putting on a new person, is most ridiculous, notwithstanding all your philosophy.

13. But you have made it thus, that, by way of your analogy, you might make the persons of God to be accidents like the other, nay, mere modalities

of accident, that is, the nothing of nothing! And though you say there are no accidents in God, yet you say, “ Nevertheless his persons are extra-essential,” that is, “ accidents!” And cannot you see so staring a contradiction as this, ushered in with a *nevertheless*, that though it be so, it shall not be so? And why? That the personalities which you propose to constitute the divine persons may be sufficiently analogous to the personalities among men!

14. But yet, Mr. Clendon, you will not suffer others to use any analogous expressions, or to call Christ the Son of God, or the natural Son of God, to distinguish him from sons by adoption, as we are called in a larger sense: no, but you inveigh against those “ who,” say you, “ methinks almost to a degree of profaneness, call God the natural Father of our Saviour, and our Saviour the natural Son of God, as if the Deity did propagate after the manner of men.” Thus you, p. 179. As if there could be no analogy, unless God did directly propagate after the manner of men! This is the superfineness of the Socinians, and their sagacity beyond all other sort of disputants! It is said, Luke iii. 38. *Which was the son of Enos, which was the son of Seth, which was the son of Adam, which was the son of God.* Did God therefore beget Adam just as Seth begat Enos? Else it would not be (as you call it) sufficiently analogous to the personalities among men! O my dear father Clendon!

15. Opening your book by chance just now, I find another sort of personalities, which I did not take notice of before, that is, the personality of *ubi*, or locality, that a man becomes a different person from every new place he is in. And “ from hence,” say

you, at the end of p. 160, "results the different personality of John at Noke from John at Style." But if John committed a robbery at Noke, would you hang John at Style for it? For though it is the same man, yet it is not the same person! Or could you hang the man and save the person? Come, Mr. Clendon, you are a lawyer, (or should be,) you have considered the classical and philosophical meaning of the word *person*, what think you of the legal? If you were a judge, how would you correct a silly manner used of giving evidence? When a country fellow came into court at Noke, and swore that the prisoner at the bar did rob him at Style, and that this was the same person; how would you rebuke the ignorance of that clown, and tell him it was not the same person, for the man was now in another *ubi*, and had left the other person behind him! How mazed would the poor fellow look, and run back to Style to find the person that robbed him! This brings me to ask from you, Mr. Clendon, what becomes of all the dead personalities? For since a man changes his person every step he takes, there must be an infinite number of these cast off persons in the world. And what becomes of them? Are they nothings or somethings? are they substance, adjuncts, accidents, or modalities? Let this be the subject next club night; and add, that since God has ubiquity, and is in every place, how many personalities he must have; and why then he should be confined to three persons only? Your philosophy will make work with this! and let the result of your divan be sent to the Tattler, that he may publish it to the world, for he is acquainted with your club.



16. If you think this making too merry with your mastership, I must tell you it is as serious as all your philosophy; which plays a thousand monkey tricks, but, like that grave animal, keeps his countenance when he shews his naked —— climbing up the porphyry tree. Your dumfounding pleases you mightily, and, though upon a serious subject, you bring it in often; p. 27, 111, 165, &c. It is youthful and gay, and I suppose makes a good jest at the trumpet! To see children play is a diversion; but to see an old man bestride a hobby-horse has something monstrous in it! “And yet,” as you say well, p. 110, “we see how big some men look, “and even in their elder years value themselves “upon their skill in this sort of theology, which is “in truth vain philosophy.”

VIII. But I have not done with you yet, Mr. Clendon. To complete your banter upon the holy Trinity, you have founded it upon an act of parliament of 9th and 10th William III. better to you than an hundred councils to settle points of faith! And you call your book an Exposition of this act of parliament—that you might keep within the verge of your own profession. It had been better for you if you had; but you would be good at something!

1. You say, p. 223, “The explication therefore “of these words *person* and *personality*, to such a “sense as was intended by this act of parliament, “is what I have essayed in this Discourse—It is an “old saying, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, which if it ever “be true must be so of our most august parliametary assembly—and there is no doubt but the “same Holy Spirit that guided the pens of our in-



“spired writers, did conspire with our legislators in making this law.”

2. But that we may not mistake what you, sir, mean by our *legislators*, you explain it in the foregoing page, p. 222, where you say, “that it was high time for our lay-legislation to take the matter in hand.” Here you take care to exclude the bishops from having any share or concern in settling the doctrine of the holy Trinity. If they had been included, you would not have attributed to the parliament such a direction of the Holy Spirit as was given to the penmen of the holy scriptures.

3. The church of Rome never did or could assert the infallibility of her popes or councils in an higher strain than this; and if this gentleman’s word went for any thing, their argument against us would be unanswerable, that ours is a parliamentary religion.

4. But I suspect him not of popery, though he thus favours it. I rather think he is a Deist, and serves that cause not a little, in making our parliaments (but without the bishops) to be infallible, and the foundation of our faith, even in the holy Trinity! Who sees not this to be a banter upon religion, church, and parliament?

5. He pleads for his notion of the Trinity, as being now a law, since the ninth and tenth of William III.; and says, p. 223, “this is what our act of parliament hath rightly established for law, and not to be denied: and this it hath done with a lenity peculiar to lay-legislation; no direful anathema denounced,” &c. Here again he excludes the bishops; they must have no hand in any good thing! Lenity is peculiar to lay-legislation!

And was it not great lenity that this lay-legislation did not denounce anathemas? No doubt he thinks they have as much right to do it as all the bishops in the world; for it is *vox populi* that is *vox Dei* with him; and the rather, because it was the voices of the people that prevailed, when they cried, *Crucify*—

6. “It is high time therefore,” says he, p. 218, “for us (of the laity I mean) to think for ourselves, “and not depend upon those scanty guides” (of the clergy) “for our instruction in matters of so great “importance.”

7. But he is very civil to the church of England, all this notwithstanding; for he makes her, as well as the parliament, to teach the same doctrine as to the Trinity that he has set down; and, on that account, would fain compliment her out of the catholic church: he opposes them to each other, and takes part with the church of England. He says, p. 194, “the catholic church and the catholic doctrine is “the usual dialect they talk in; and why not the “church of England, I’d fain know?” Then he prefers what he calls her doctrine (that is, his own) to that of the catholic church; and says, p. 195, “her purer faith and doctrine have the holy scriptures for their authority, and the laws of England “for their establishment; the highest sanction that “can be given by human power.” What, Mr. Clendon, higher than the sanction of the government in any other country! but you only mean higher than any ecclesiastical sanction of all councils or bishops, though of the whole earth; for you have declared yourself to be only for lay-legislations, though in matters of faith or doctrine. You

go over again this, of distinguishing the church of England from the catholic church, p. 183, 186, 216, 218, &c. You thought this a pure touch, to persuade her to depend for her faith upon the sanction only of an act of parliament !

8. But after all, the words in that act are sound words, and the penalties are against any who “ shall deny any one of the persons in the holy Trinity to be God.” And the directions you mention, p. 1, to the bishops are, “ that none shall presume to deliver any other doctrine concerning the blessed Trinity than what is contained in the scriptures.” And where will you find there your quoddities and quiddities, your modalities and personalities? So that you have manifestly gone against these directions; and you have philosophized the persons in the holy Trinity into mere manifestations, which are no persons at all; and therefore have directly incurred all the penalties in that act of parliament.

9. And for the church of England, she abhors and detests as heretical your wild opinions. Do you not know that both the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds (which you battle) are in her Liturgy, and that every word of that Liturgy is confirmed by act of parliament?

Does not the second Article of the church of England declare, that “ the Son which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man’s nature,” &c. And do you not expressly deny the eternal generation of the Son, or that he had any existence (besides ideal in the divine intellect, as all other creatures had)



before his incarnation? This you assert, p. 169, 170, and 211.

Do you not know that the church of England owns the four first general councils, which establish those doctrines you have disputed against? and they were long after Adrian; since which time you bid adieu to the true faith and the catholic church.

10. You are sunk below Arianism into the very dregs of Socinianism; you allow the Son of God no existence with his Father before he took our nature upon him in the womb of the blessed Virgin.

And betwixt Socinianism and Deism the partition is very thin, as betwixt that and Atheism; of which your parliamentary infallibility, equal to that of the holy scriptures, smells very rank. It is directly denying the divine authority of the holy scriptures, which comes expressly under the penalties of that act you have chosen for your text. As likewise your bantering St. John, that he was not a match for the philosophers, and yet that the poor old man must write! and that he borrowed his notion of the Logos, or Word of God, from Plato; and you make it mere heathenism. Is not this “denying the Christian religion to be true?” which is another article in that act; and what Christian religion do you think they meant? only that before Adrian: and what catholic church is it which the church of England prays for daily in her Liturgy? is it that which has been extinct ever since Adrian?

This is Mr. Clendon’s first offence against this act, that is, in print; and the penalty of that (as he sets it down, p. 2.) is, to be “incapable of any office or employment.” But this will do Mr. Clendon little hurt, who is better known in Sheer-lane



than in Westminster-hall. And if they leave him but his office of reader at the Trumpet to propagate his religion, he is in his kingdom !

11. But to complete his character, he lets us know that he is a whig too ; but that is no great news, for all Deists are so : I will not say all whigs are Deists, but the exceptions are not many, and I will not be bound to name them. He brings high and low church into this dispute, p. 216 ; and speaking of those who adhere to the primitive and catholic church, he says, “ surely they must be the high “ church that is so much talked of.” Then he brings in those whose doctrine is “ authenticated by the “ laws of the land,” and calls these “ our mother “ the church of England,” and says, these “ must “ be the low church.” If they gave him a fee to plead thus for them, he has well deserved it !

12. But he singles out some to commend more especially, those particularly who have had the honour to be suspected of Socinianism. He says, p. 201, 202, that “ Dr. Tillotson, the late excellent arch- “ bishop of Canterbury, the good man was reflected “ upon, because he was so ingenuous as to own the “ Socinian writers to be fair and civil adversaries. “ and to argue with smartness and subtilty,” &c. And he says, “ that these catholic churchmen had “ their fling at the late pious and learned bishop of “ Ely, Dr. Patrick, for the first part of his Witnesses “ to Christianity.”

But he spends from p. 202. to p. 207. upon the present archbishop of Canterbury, his grace, who, says Mr. Clendon, “ in his younger time wrote a “ most excellent discourse of idolatry,” which he goes on explaining to p. 207, where he says, “ and

“ his grace tells us further, that they who stiffly  
 “ opposed the ministration of the *Λόγος*, or Son, gave  
 “ suspicion to jealous heads, as if they looked to-  
 “ wards Racovia.” Then adds; “ To come at this  
 “ has been the occasion of my digression all this  
 “ while, that I might take notice that his grace in  
 “ those days did observe and was aware of the  
 “ then common calumny of Socinianism, as well as  
 “ others.” And, Mr. Clendon, if you had thought  
 there had been nothing of it in those words of his  
 grace, which you have been at so much pains to  
 pick out, we had not heard of it from you; but you  
 think these words of his do look as if he stiffly op-  
 posed the ministration of the *Λόγος*, or Son of God,  
 in the creation of the world, and the manifestations  
 or appearances of God in the Old Testament, parti-  
 cularly that upon mount Sinai at the giving of the  
 Law, contrary to the current of the primitive fa-  
 thers; only that, as you say in the following words,  
 “ his grace managed that discourse with so much  
 “ learning and caution, that he was proof against  
 “ all their reproaches of that kind.” What service  
 you have done his grace by this vindication, I know  
 not, but you think it for his honour! and you are  
 fond of it; you are at him again, p. 212, and say,  
 “ As for the other matter of the *Λόγος* delivering  
 “ the Law to Moses, his grace tells us it was  
 “ branded by Grotius for an error.” Now to the  
 next; you go on, p. 214,

“ I will add but one instance more touching this  
 “ so frequent calumny of Socinianism. The present  
 “ great and learned bishop of Sarum, because in his  
 “ Discourse to his clergy, and in his Exposition of  
 “ the Thirty-nine Articles, he dropt some expres-

“ sions that were out of the common road of our  
 “ systematical divines, how fiercely was he attacked  
 “ by the rector of Kilmington on the one hand, and  
 “ the Examiner of his second Article on the other;  
 “ and by both charged with Socinianism!”

He says nothing in defence of this good bishop, but leaves him to himself, and goes on to lessen the prejudices against Socinianism.

13. But to any who speak against Socinianism you shall see how he keeps his patience, and spends his wit! Thus he treats the Rev. Mr. Hill of Kilmington, p. 133, for his daring to oppose the bishop of Sarum as to Socinianism; he says of him, “ his  
 “ sour, crabbed aspect, apparent in his insolent and  
 “ abusive language to that great bishop, whose  
 “ books he is not worthy to carry after him”—  
 “ The old man is angry!” But I must give you a whole paragraph of his upon the same subject, p. 134, because it is singular for wit and temper and variety of thought: thus;

“ Next, we have that solidity in his looks and  
 “ lineaments, and gravity of feature, which speaks  
 “ him able for profound theory and penetrating  
 “ thought, by which he can see as far into a mill-  
 “ stone as any man, and comprehends the three  
 “ hypostases as well as those that lived fourteen or  
 “ fifteen hundred years ago, or more. Add to this,  
 “ that he has withal a sharpness and sagacity of  
 “ phiz, from whence he is able craftily to secrete  
 “ and conceal his three hypostases under his tech-  
 “ nical or artificial term *persons*. Thus is his Dis-  
 “ course a perfect copy of his countenance, and so  
 “ doth truly signify his own person, (for you know  
 “ *phiz* is *person*.) I will add but one word fur-



“ther, and that is what the gentleman says of himself in his preface; viz. that these points had then employed his theories for above seven and twenty years. Alas, for him, poor gentleman! he spent his time to good purpose, did he not?”

You are cruel sharp upon him, Mr. Clendon; besides your *Hey-day, hey-day*, which you often give as an answer to his arguments; as p. 129, &c.: and was not his twenty-seven years as well spent as if he had employed seventy to lose common sense in your philosophy! But, after all, his phiz is better than your own, Mr. Clendon, and therefore he is a better person by your philosophy: and you come off the severity of your character; for, p. 133, just after his “sour, crabbed aspect,” you add, “but this is not without somewhat of a soft and pleasing air.” This was to shew how sweet and how sour you could be!

14. And as you justify the bishop of Sarum against Mr. Hill with a *Hey-day*, so you defend him against the Animadverter upon his Exposition of the second Article with a *Ha-ha-ha*! The Animadverter had owned that there was a mystery in the Trinity of God, at which you break out into a loud laugh, p. 153, and cry, “Ha-ha-ha! is it come to this at last?” as you say, p. 194, “we must not be fobbed off with mystery.” You have made the Trinity of God as plain as that of the queen, without any mystery at all in it! and all this by your wonderful account of the word *person*.

IX. But, Mr. Clendon, you have made no discovery with all your pains; for who knows not that the word *person* (like other words) may be taken in different senses? that orators and logicians speak



not in the same strictness of terms? Yet from Cicero you would confute the schools; in whose restrained sense you take those words which were in use before such restraint or limitation was put upon them. Thus the hypostases among the Greeks was not understood with respect to the after-niceties of *substance*, *subsistence*, &c. upon which you ring all your changes, and would infer tritheism from the three hypostases; though you cannot deny but that they sufficiently declared themselves against it. And again, the broaching of fresh heresies still occasioned more and more restriction of the sense of words relating to those questions to new and different meanings.

X. And no man takes greater latitude in this matter than yourself; as at the end of p. 109, and beginning of p. 110, where you come to answer that text, Col. ii. 9, *In him (Christ) dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily*. You say, p. 110, “I cannot but think there is more rhetoric than metaphysics implied in the phraseology, and that a metaphor from house-dwelling was plainly intended.” This was to bring it to the Socinian notion, that God the Word was not *made flesh*, (as it is said John i. 14.) or took our nature upon him; but only that he dwelt in flesh, in the person of the man Jesus, as a man dwells in an house; which makes not the man to be the house, nor the house to be the man: and this will make Christ to be no more God than any prophet, or apostle, or other good man, in whom God, by his holy Spirit, is said to dwell. I will grant you that the word *dwelling* or *in-dwelling* is here a metaphor: but, sir, the stress lies in the word *fulness*; and to pursue the

metaphor, if you could find an house or habitation which could contain all the fulness of the Godhead, that house would be God, because nothing that is not infinite can contain infinite. And therefore such expression was never used of any prophet or apostle, or of any angel in heaven, but of Christ our Lord only.

But when you are pinched here, you come off with calling this only a piece of rhetoric! and yet at the same time you will allow no latitude for the word *hypostases* or *person*, as differently understood at several times, but restrain them to the modern niceties of the schools: and yet you battle these with the latitude used by orators, who you are sensible did not oblige themselves to that strictness of phraseology as the philosophers and logicians. So that you play fast and loose; sometimes you are upon the high rope, and nothing can stop your swing; then *phraseology* and *rhetoric* solves the most express texts can be brought against you! At other times you straiten the terms to the utmost rigour, and dance all your changes upon them, and give them different airs, as they make for or against you. Your whole book, and all the philosophy in it, is nothing but playing with words; which if they may be understood in the plain and common acceptation, as used by all the world, and in all other matters, the Socinians must give up the cause, and yield to those many and express texts of holy scripture which assert the divinity of Christ and the adorable Trinity of God; and were so understood by those to whom the apostles delivered these doctrines by word of mouth, as well as in writing, and who therefore were most capable to know their

true meaning; and who delivered down these doctrines to the after-ages of the church, which are still retained in all Christian churches to this day: all which, I hope, I have made fully appear in the foregoing Dialogues; and that it will appear more plain to all judicious readers, upon the detection of these poor shifts made use of by the adversaries to the Christian doctrine; and which they confess they never would have made use of, nor would have thought of them, but for the seeming contradictions they apprehended were contained in these doctrines: and therefore were forced to struggle with all their wit against the plain, very plain revelation of them in the holy scriptures, so plain, that they themselves do own they would have received them as the Christian church does, and has done from the beginning, but for the contradiction they conceived in them; and that for this only cause they have put those constrained meanings upon the words of the scriptures, in this matter only, and different from the use of these words upon any other subject whatsoever: and likewise after having in vain attempted to gain to their side the primitive fathers before the first council of Nice, now lastly, as Mr. Clendon does, to throw off fathers and councils, and all church-evidence or authority: and this their notion of contradiction in these divine mysteries, arising merely from their applying to God the words used among men, (for we can understand none other,) and that strictly and properly as belonging to men, and in this sense adapting them to God, and measuring the infinite by our finite nature. For this reason I began my Dialogues with removing this objection, and shewing the unreasonableness (and



in several instances there produced) of inferring a contradiction in a nature we do not understand, from the like being a contradiction in another nature which we do understand. This was battled in the Remarks upon my First Dialogue; but I hope it has stood its ground in the defences I have made; and the more, for that, after all this contest, they cannot now shew any contradiction, but in this same method I have detected, and which I have forced the Remarker himself to confess is most unreasonable and absurd; and yet they still stick to it, though at the same time they deny it! which is giving up the argument, for it is apparent; because they cannot (after all the provocations given them) find out any other way to shew a contradiction in these doctrines; and they have laboured it with all their skill, but cannot find it: and I think no cause can be reduced or detected to a greater degree than this; for it is proving against them out of their own mouths!

I hope now I have ended my labour upon this most important subject. If I have said any thing to confirm the faith, the glory is to God; and let my infirmities be excused, that I could do it no better.



THE  
CHARGE OF SOCINIANISM

AGAINST

DR. TILLOTSON

CONSIDERED;

IN EXAMINATION OF SOME SERMONS HE HAS LATELY  
PUBLISHED ON PURPOSE TO CLEAR HIMSELF  
FROM THAT IMPUTATION.

*By way of a Dialogue betwixt F. a Friend of Dr. T.'s,  
and C. a Catholic Christian.*

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

Some Reflections upon the Second of Dr. Burnet's Four Discourses, concerning the Divinity and Death of Christ.

Printed 1694.

TO WHICH IS LIKEWISE ANNEXED,

A Supplement upon occasion of a History of Religion, lately published, supposed to be wrote by Sir R—— H——d.

Wherein likewise Charles Blount's Great Diana is considered; and both compared with Dr. Tillotson's Sermons.



## THE PREFACE.

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THAT which I have to advertise the reader of, by way of preface, is, that the following animadversions upon Dr. Tillotson's Sermons were wrote before the death of that unhappy man; and should not now have been published, were it not that his much mistaken and pernicious principles have survived him, and are recommended by the authority of his name.

Yet the respect I bear to the dead might have restrained some sharpness (if any such be found) in the following sheets, had they been wrote since his lamentable exit.

I am likewise to tell the reader that the Socinians have published an Answer to what they think or pretend makes against them in the four sermons hereafter examined of Dr. Tillotson's, and the second of Dr. Burnet's discourses, which I have taken into consideration. Their treatise bears this title: Considerations on the Explication of the Doctrine of the Trinity, occasioned by Four Sermons preached by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury—a Discourse by the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, &c. Printed 1694.

To this there is a Reply by Dr. Burnet, for himself, in a Letter to Dr. Williams, and by the said Dr. Williams in vindication of Dr. Tillotson, published since his death, both printed together, 1695, and carries this title: A Vindication of the Sermons of his Grace John Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the Divinity and Incarnation of our B. Saviour, from the Exceptions of a late Book, entitled, Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity; to which is annexed, a Letter from the Lord Bishop of Sarum to the Author of the said Vindication, on the same subject.

The license for printing this book is dated at Lambeth,

17th November 1694, the very day before Dr. Tillotson was struck with that fatal apoplexy which carried him out of this world the fourth day after, and made room for another comprehensive latitudinarian, who looked over Lincoln, to succeed him. But the books above mentioned came to my view after some of the following sheets were sent to the press, otherwise I had made more particular observations upon them: for the present I had only opportunity to make some short mention of them in some of the remaining sheets.

And here I must take notice, that whereas the abovesaid Considerations, p. 63, 64, objected against the account which Dr. Tillotson had given of the grounds of Christian religion; viz. that the mysteries of our religion were only a gratification to the humour of mankind, who were fond of mysteries; that the incarnation of Christ was to comply with their notion of a sensible Deity; and his passion, with their custom of human sacrifices; his exaltation, with their custom of deifying men; his intercession, with their common apprehension of mediators between the gods and them, &c. which are a main subject of the ensuing Discourse: I say, these being thus objected, together with some other exceptions, against Dr. Tillotson's doctrine, in the forequoted pages, his Vindicator replies to some of the others, but leaves these above mentioned totally untouched. Vindication, pp. 61, 62.

Whether they were material to be answered, I leave to what follows; and whether they are answerable upon any Christian principles, I refer to the judgment of the reader, and this sort of no-vindication of them.

Doubtless Dr. Tillotson would read this Vindication of himself before he licensed it to be printed.

And if he could have given any answer to these most monstrous objections made against him, he would certainly have done it; wherefore we must conclude him self-condemned: and yet he has not (at least publicly, as he ought) recanted these blasphemous errors; he ought to have recanted and abhorred them, both in print and in pulpit, as he had published them. But he has received his sentence.

Here let me reply, though not for Dr. Tillotson, yet against these Socinians: they argue that there was no ne-



cessity for the incarnation of God ; and for this they quote Dr. Tillotson's own words, *Considerations*, p. 63, that the gospel and the pardon of sin might have been offered to mankind by a prophet in the name of God. And because he says it, they charge it upon the church. Our opposers, say they, grant it, his grace grants it. See the mischief of this man's prevarications, and his advancement to the throne of Canterbury ! But to the argument : first, the *Vindicator*, p. 61, (and consequently Dr. Tillotson himself,) does shamefully give up this cause, and plead for the no-need or necessity either of Christ's incarnation or of his death.

But yet it was the height of impudence in the Socinians to object the no-necessity of the incarnation against the divinity of Christ, when that same argument militates as strongly against themselves as to the death of Christ : for which, upon their principles of no-satisfaction being due to the justice of God for sin, there can no tolerable account be given ; for a prophet might have taught, and preached, and been a good example and intercessor too, and performed every one of the conditions and ends which they assign for Christ's coming into the world, and for the sacrifice of his death upon the cross.

This of denying the satisfaction is the heart of Socinianism, and the millstone which will sink it into the sea ; for without this, there was no need or necessity either for the incarnation or death of Christ : but the doctrine of satisfaction being established, infers the necessity of the divinity of Christ, (without which an adequate satisfaction could not be made,) and the divinity of Christ does necessarily infer the plurality of persons in the Deity ; which is the whole of the difficulty alleged against the Trinity : so closely are these divine principles of the Christian religion linked and joined together ; the denial of any one of them breaks the whole chain.

Dr. Burnet, in the abovesaid *Vindication* of himself, p. 101, instead of recanting his former error, proceeds expressly to dispute yet further against the satisfaction, and says that

it is no part of the doctrine of our church. "Our Articles," says he, "are the only standard to judge of our doctrine, as far as they go, but they have determined nothing in this matter, but rest in the general notions of expiation (which the doctor expounds not to mean *satisfaction*) and of reconciling us to God." Thus this learned doctor.

But my last topic, with which I close my observations upon his Discourse, has sufficiently disproved this, and shewn the doctrine of the satisfaction to be expressly taught in the Homilies, and that they account not him who denies it to be a Christian man, but an adversary to Christ and his gospel.

Now shall we suppose it possible that this doctor never read the Homilies which he has subscribed, no, nor the very Articles which he quotes? or that the Homilies are not contained and all expressly named in the said Articles?

Or otherwise shall we think that he meant hereby to impose upon unwary readers, and thus to belie and falsify the doctrine of our church, on purpose to conceal the more effectually his own apostasy from it?

But though every body is not well acquainted with the Homilies, (through an inexcusable neglect of reading them publicly, as it is enjoined,) yet none can come to the sacrament without taking notice that in the very prayer of consecration Christ is said to have made full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. The doctor has forgot this too.

Lastly, I will shew you the advantage which the Socinians make of these seeming defences of the Christian religion, which of all other methods do most effectually undermine and betray it. See how they glory and exult in this performance of Dr. Burnet's. "Furthermore," say they, Considerations, p. 15, "the Socinians, and all other small and envied parties of Christians, are in his debt for owning and espousing publicly divers such truths as others perhaps see as well as he, but have not sincerity nor generosity enough to avow them."

Here they detestably insinuate that all are hypocrites who in good earnest do oppose Socinianism; and gather from

the account which Dr. T. and Dr. B. give of the Christian faith that others are of the same opinion, while they see them not opposed nor censured for these their blasphemous heresies, but, on the contrary, they are vindicated, excused, and their vile sophistry palliated and covered by the divines in fashion ! What the consequences of this may be is dreadful to apprehend !

This Dr. B. has so explained the doctrine of the church, as that the Socinians may close with it. “ It is,” say they, *Considerat.* p. 31, 32, “ the very doctrine of the Socinians, “ which they have owned from the beginning in all their “ books.” And speaking of the satisfaction, they truly say, that his lordship himself professedly dislikes it, and argues against it : which they there prove from p. 135 of his *Discourse*. “ In brief,” say they, “ were the questions about “ the Trinity and the divinity of our Saviour adjusted, there “ would be no longer dispute about the satisfaction, as his “ lordship has stated it. Nor, to say true, have we contro- “ versy with him about the two former questions ; for he con- “ tents himself to say the *three*, and when he says most, the “ *holy three*, disclaiming (expressly) the word *persons*, in “ the sense (says he) that is commonly taken. To say all “ at once, (concludes that Socinian author,) I have not made “ this reply to oppose it to his lordship’s *Discourse*, but to “ testify our respects to his lordship, and that we submit to “ his doctrine.”

His lordship, (as this Socinian styles him,) in his *Vindication*, p. 99, calls this an imputation upon him, but yet does not clear himself from it ; for which I refer to what follows, where it is examined.

I conclude this Preface with giving the reader a needful caution against these horrible Socinians, that they are going about to undermine the authority of the holy scriptures, because they cannot reconcile them to their damnable heresy. They have now (*Considerat.* p. 50, 51.) publicly assaulted all the whole works of St. John, his Gospel, Epistles, and Revelation. This was the shortest way of answering them, and, at the same time, of confessing that they were no other-

wise answerable by them. I say nothing here to their arguments, because they are sufficiently confuted in Dr. Williams's Vindication. Only let me observe, that if their pretences against these parts of scripture which make most against them, and which therefore they reject, do hold, the whole canon of the scripture is rendered precarious, and our faith uncertain; which must be the consequence, if these most execrable of heretics should prevail: which God of his mercy prevent.



THE  
CHARGE OF SOCINIANISM

AGAINST

DR. TILLOTSON

CONSIDERED, &c.

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*F.* SINCE our last Discourse upon the famous sermon of hell, preached before the queen, the 7th of March, 1690, upon Matt. xxv. 46, and printed by their majesties' special command, the author has this year, 1693, published four sermons, two of them preached an. 1679, and two an. 1680, upon John i. 14. This he has done to clear himself from Socinianism.

*C.* He says in his Advertisement to the Reader, that he has revised and enlarged them; so that we cannot tell what part of them was preached at the time specified, or what added since, to clear his reputation, now that he is got into an higher station, so as to make such a vindication necessary. For it is to be presumed that he did not think it worth his while before, otherwise he would not so long have lain under the imputation of having been neither christened, nor a Christian in his principles. Both which have not only been loudly clamoured, but objected in print against him many years ago:

wherein only he truly exercised nonresistance; for he opened not his mouth.

But it is never too late to mend; and if he be not now, pray God he may be a good Christian before he dies. For I must confess I do not think it sufficiently evinced in these Sermons: in the reading of which, the character which the History of the Unitarians gives (though falsely) of Grotius came into my mind; wherein he endeavours to make Grotius a thoroughpaced Socinian, but yet to have covered his meaning so craftily, particularly in his comments upon this first chapter of St. John's Gospel, whence this author has taken his text, as not to be known to be a Socinian, unless to a very discerning reader.

And I must observe, that this author in the fore-said four Sermons, though he seems to speak home sometimes, yet has taken special care to avoid the only *shibboleth* which the Christian church could find out to discover the several sorts of Arian and other heretics, who denied the divinity of Christ, which was *consubstantiality*; that God the Son was of the same substance with his Father.

Several of them (for there were several subdivisions of them, and of different opinions) would allow Christ to be of the *like* substance with the Father, that is, *ὁμοιούσιος*, but not *ὁμοούσιος*, that is, of the *same* substance. And except the single *iota*, which is betwixt these two words, they could swallow the whole Nicene Creed, by virtue of distinctions, in which they were great masters: and it is very strange that this author should forget this only material word, which is the heart of the whole cause, and expressly asserted in the Nicene Creed;

especially considering that Sermon III. p. 140, 141, he quotes the words in that creed immediately following these, "being of one substance with the Father;" which words he does not mention, and which being owned by him, would have been a more clear and full vindication of his orthodoxy in this point than all these four Sermons; and since it was impossible he should forget it, he repeating the same sentence in the Creed wherein it is contained, we must conclude that he left it out on purpose, and consequently that he does not really believe it, though he endeavours with all his art to cast a mist before the reader's eyes in other expressions, which to some might seem tantamount, as Arius and his followers did. Even our modern Biddle, in his Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity, printed in the year 1648, and now reprinted in the year 1691, art. 3, confesses Christ to be *our Lord, yea our God*, and yet in the same article asserts, that "he hath no other than a human nature." But he was a senseless Socinian, though now much admired amongst them in London, and his books carefully reprinted. He refined from the Socinians, and added to it the old anthropomorphite heresy, that God was a body, of the shape of a man, fingers, eyes, toes, &c. as the Socinians refined from the Arians, and gave the Son of God no existence before his birth of the Virgin, and have exceedingly entangled their cause by it. The Arians were more subtle and learned than any of their followers, who have grafted upon their stock. It was hard to discover the depth of Arianism; they defended themselves with nice distinctions.

They would call the Son God, yea truly and really

God, as this author confesses, Sermon II. p. 123. And what plainer or fuller words could readily be desired, wherein to confess the true and real divinity of Christ, in opposition to angels and to men, who are called gods, but it is only in a figurative and borrowed sense? They are not truly and really God, as the Arians said of Christ.

*F.* The author in the same sentence explains himself, and those whom he calls his adversaries, (whether Arians or Socinians,) who say that Christ is truly and really God, by adding these words, “by office, and by divine appointment and constitution.”

*C.* That is a very vain distinction: for a God by office, or any other way, so he be truly and really God, is as great as a God by nature, because nothing can be greater than God.

Besides, a God by office, if he be truly and really God, must likewise be a God by nature, for he could not otherwise be truly and really God: as he could not be truly and really man, who were not a man by nature, or who did not truly and really partake of the nature of man.

And, as a consequence of all this, the author tells, p. 123, that our adversaries did allow the very same honour and worship to be given to the truly and really God, though by office, which we give to him who is God by nature.

And as these adversaries could not be found out by the word *God*, which they freely allowed to Christ, no not by the words *truly and really God*, so neither could the word *eternity* fully discover them, viz. to assert Christ to have been from *eternity*.



We know several adversaries to Christianity who have asserted the world to have been from eternity, and yet would not allow it to be God. It is part of the Muggletonian creed at this day, that earth and water were from eternity, and yet not God.

A book called *The Oracles of Reason* (by that execrable Char. Blount, Mr. Gildon, and others of Hobbs's wretched disciples) does argue expressly for the eternity of the world, and of mankind too, in the same state they are in now. This is printed for our instruction in the year 1693, as one branch of our glorious reformation and Christian toleration. And if these wits allow eternity to mere men, much less would these Socinians stick to call Christ eternal, who own him to be truly and really God; for whatever is so, must be eternal.

Therefore, as I said before, there was no *shibboleth* which all these our adversaries did refuse, but that of consubstantiality, and which this author does refuse; and while he does so, he must still be reckoned among these adversaries to the Christian catholic faith; though among what particular species or denomination of them I will not determine; or whether he may not have refined to a degree and peculiarity by himself, for he delights in bold strokes.

Mr. Biddle, above told, is owned by the Socinians as a good and laudable brother, though he set up the old and exploded heresy of the anthropomorphites: and the Arians are admitted into their communion, and, as such, quoted and pleaded by them against the orthodox, though they held the pre-existence of Christ before his incarnation, which the Socinians have rejected: among whom some, even at this day, hold the personality of the Word

and Holy Ghost, which others of them do absolutely deny. Some of them make these to be creatures, others to be really and truly God, and not any thing different from God.

Nay, the old Nazarens, Ebionites, &c. are, in the Brief History of the Unitarians, quoted as the primitive fathers of the Socinian opinion, some of whom rejected the scriptures, others, all of it, but some particular books which pleased their fancies; others owned other scriptures never received by the church, and publicly allowed and practised altering the holy scriptures, which they called mending of them; and some of them said that Christ was begot by Joseph like other men. Nay, by their latitudinarian principles, Mahomet himself, and his Alcoran, must be admitted into their confederacy, who speak more honourably of Christ than the Socinians themselves, and deserve the name of Unitarians, even in their own sense, as much as they can pretend to.

In the church of Rome, if you will but own expressly the authority of their church to the height they assert it, you shall be owned a good catholic, and excused by an implicit faith in all other articles of the creed, though you be never so ignorant, or hold particular opinions different from the church.

So with the Socinians: if you will but reject the consubstantiality of Christ, you shall have liberty to make him a God, or a creature, or what you will; you may talk of his eternity, his true and real Godhead, his being God of God, Light of Light, &c.: they have distinctions for all these. And though they love not, nor like the expressions, yet they can make a hard shift with them; they can puzzle people's understandings, though by very foolish and

contradictory arguments; how God by his infinite power might have bestowed true and real divinity upon another, and that even from eternity; for what he can do to-day, he might have done yesterday, and so backwards for ever.

But then this would have been only a voluntary act of God; and what he did, he might not have done, if he had so pleased; and consequently that this adopted God, though from eternity, was still a precarious, though a true and real God; and yet not properly to be called a creature, that is, like finite things produced in time.

But, on the other hand, to make another person consubstantial, that is, of the same nature with God the Father, this infers the necessity of a plurality of persons in the very nature of the Godhead, and so to be of the essence of God, as faculties are of the essence of the soul, so that it could not be a soul without the faculties, nor a God without the persons; and though one depends upon another, and springs from another, yet they are all equally necessary, coeternal, and coequal, as being all of the same nature.

This grows too hard for a distinction, and our Unitarians, as they call themselves, will compound for any thing, so you keep off from this consubstantiality.

And therefore the Christian church could find no other criterion to discover the subtle heresy of these pretended Unitarians of several degrees and classes, who, though differing never so widely among themselves, yet all join, and reckon themselves as brethren, against the most glorious and most ample revelations of the ever-blessed Trinity, recorded in



the holy scriptures of God : and whoever refuse this test cannot be accounted sound in the Christian faith.

But where there is unwillingness, it will one way or another shew itself ; and it is easy to distinguish betwixt those expressions which proceed from a hearty conviction, and those which are taken up out of force and necessity, to clear ourselves from an imputation which lies upon us.

This your doctor discovers pretty plainly in the present case ; for being necessitated, in a vindication of himself, as to the doctrine of the Trinity, to use the word *persons*, he does it as brought to it against his will, very grudgingly and slightly ; he does pass it over, and cannot conceal his inclination rather to the distinction used by the Anti-Trinitarian heretics, to elude those texts which speak of the Trinity, which is, that there are three differences in the Deity, which are expressed in scripture by the three denominations of *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost* : and which they allow are spoken of after the manner of persons ; as, Wisdom is said to build her house, &c. But they will not allow them to be truly and properly persons, or different subsistences, but only three several acceptations of the same person, according to the different manner of his revealing himself upon several occasions : and thus they may make as many persons, in this sense of theirs, as their fancy pleases to suggest. And in this sense, and no other, the doctor is pleased to let the word *persons* pass, since we must have it ; though at the same time he gives it such a stab, as shews that he is by no means reconciled to it. But take his own words, which he gives as his determination of the



whole matter, and the utmost to which he will be brought; Serm. II. p. 120.

“ Here then I fix my foot: that there are three  
“ differences in the Deity, which the scripture speaks  
“ of by the names of *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*;  
“ and every where speaks of them as we use to do  
“ of three distinct persons: and therefore I see no  
“ reason why in this argument we should nicely  
“ abstain from using the word *person*; though I  
“ remember that St. Jerome does somewhere desire  
“ to be excused from it.”

Thus the doctor: and, according to this, where he has occasion to name the three persons of God, he adds, to explain himself, his own word *differences*, which he likes better: thus, p. 122, “ The three differences or persons in the divine nature, expressed in scripture by the names of *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*,” &c.; and so in other places.

And here he has “ fixed his foot:” you shall have no more of him, if you be not pleased with this; you must let it alone, and trouble him no more about Socinianism, Arianism, or any of these like matters.

But this *somewhere* of St. Jerome’s was a strange quotation for so grave a doctor to bring into the pulpit upon so serious a subject, if he thought it so. For I fancy he spoke this with a smile, saying to himself, I’ll make this poor auditory believe that I have a place of St. Jerome under my thumb, to overthrow all this business of different *persons* in God; which word, since they force me to use, I’ll be revenged on it. But I will not name the place in St. Jerome; for there are rogues will be examining of it, and put me to a great deal of trouble; it will do well enough for a squib among the crowd.

But these poor hopes are vanished ; for this doctor has already been taken to task, and stands corrected for this, by a much more learned person than himself, the author of the *Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's book, entitled, A Vindication of the holy and ever-blessed Trinity, &c. printed 1693.* There, chap. viii. p. 265, this place of St. Jerome is quoted ; and it is shewn, that St. Jerome did not scruple to use the word *person*, or *desired to be excused*, (as our author comically words it, by way of wit,) but, on the contrary, that he did use the word *person*, and in the same sense, in this question, which is put upon it by us at this day, as one of the distinct subsistences of the divine nature or substance, whom he did own to be *tres personas subsistentes* : but that what scruple he had was concerning the Greek word *hypostasis*, which yet he did not absolutely reject, nor refuse to make use of it, but thought it needed some explanation, or rather caution in the use of it.

But this author (whatever scruple he may have, which he signifies in hints very plain) will not too nicely abstain from the word *person*, (or any other word,) since he can make it signify what he pleases, only a *difference*, or a *somewhat*, or a *nowhat*, by a mental reservation, though he knows those he disputes with, and those he speaks to, take it in another sense.

The great art of the Socinians is in altering the meaning of words, so that no words almost can bind them : and this doctor does very subtly recommend their interpretations of scripture, by bringing them sometimes to prove the divinity of Christ, that so he may take you off the much more strong and

full proof which lies in the true and plain meaning of the words. For example, Serm. II. p. 90, he brings Phil. ii. 6, &c. as a proof of the divinity of Christ, *Who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God*. But instead of *he thought it not robbery*, ὡς ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο, the doctor would have the sense to be, *he did not arrogate to himself to be equal with God*, though it is quite contrary to the words, which are literally translated, *he thought it not robbery to be equal*, i. e. he did make himself equal: *he did not arrogate to himself to be equal*, i. e. he did not make himself equal: senses which are in terms opposite. *He did*, says the text: *he did not*, says Dr. T. This is the impudent answer which the Brief History of the Unitarians gives to this text, and which the doctor here recommends: and he says that that phrase is used so by Plutarch; but he names not the words, nor quotes the place, which he would have done, if he had thought it for his purpose; for he cannot deny that the words are rightly translated, and they cannot bear two opposite senses.

But now to bring himself off from seeming to favour the Socinians in this interpretation, he pretends to prove the divinity of Christ from it thus: “Christ “did not arrogate to himself to be equal with God, “i. e. he made no ostentation of his divinity;” and this the doctor says he takes to be the true meaning of that phrase.

But it means much more easily that Christ had no divinity to make ostentation of, that he did not so much as pretend to it, or arrogate it to himself.

By this Socinian interpretation of the doctor's, here is, first, a very weak argument brought for the



divinity of Christ, which is the most effectual method to destroy a cause; secondly, here is a very strong argument for his divinity diverted and eluded: for let the text lie in the plain and grammatical interpretation of the words, and they are not to be answered by the Socinians; for if it was no robbery in Christ to be equal with God, it follows unavoidably that he was true and real God by nature.

*F.* Let us come now to the other great point of Socinianism, the doctrine of satisfaction. They deny that the death of Christ was a satisfaction paid to the justice of God for our sins, for the doctor has cleared himself in this point likewise.

*C.* He hath cleared himself indeed! not only to have been, but still to continue a rank Socinian in this point, even where he endeavours most to make a show, as if he were come off it. He mumbles it like thistles. For though the great point be the satisfying God's justice, yet he is so very careful to avoid coming upon that question, that he names it but once in all those four Sermons, and that after such a manner as plainly discovers that he is still of the opinion he told us in his sermon of hell, of which he says there is no certainty, because there was no need of any satisfaction to God's justice at all; and that God's justice is to be considered no otherwise than as a *politique* to secure his government, and therefore does not infer any punishment of sinners, but that his threats may be only *in terrorem*, or so far to be inflicted as may secure his government from the rebellion and usurpation of wicked men; as if God were afraid of being deposed by them: a strange notion of the justice of God! But this new doctrine of making hell preca-



rious does totally overthrow the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ, and plucks it up root and branch: for if there be no certainty of a hell, there can be no necessity of satisfaction for sins, which by this means are remitted without it. But your author thinks to put us off with a compliment in this matter. Serm. IV. p. 211, he says, that this way of remitting sins by the death of Christ was a way indeed very honourable to the justice of God and the authority of his laws: and this is every word he says as to the justice of God in all these four Sermons.

He comes off like a courtier, I confess, and will let it be very honourable for God, (that is civil!) if we would let alone any arguments as to what the nature of justice requires, which makes it more than honourable, even necessary, that a full and adequate satisfaction be made to justice, otherwise justice can be no more justice, and God is no more justice.

Besides, it will appear that, if there was no necessity of satisfying justice, it was not only not very honourable in God, but even not reconcileable to any notion we can have of justice, to take the life of an innocent person without any necessity in the world.

*F.* You are a sort of people hard to be pleased; therefore this good doctor, in compliance to your infirmity, and because indeed he has treated very slightly of the satisfaction in these four Sermons, he has since preached a sermon before the queen at Whitehall, 9th of April, 1693, upon Heb. ix. 29, on purpose, concerning the sacrifice and satisfaction of Christ; and it is published by her majesty's special command, and was put into the Gazette.

*C.* All this honour had his sermon of hell above

told, of which we have formerly discoursed at large; and this shall have as fair dealing from me, to be impartially and honestly examined, without any flattery.

First, therefore, I will shew the most barbarous, absurd, and blasphemous notion he has of the Christian religion in general.

And then, as to the doctrine of satisfaction, that he is expressly Socinian.

His notion of the Christian religion, in these first four, and this single sermon expressed; did, I confess, amaze me beyond any thing ever I read, except of the same author: and if no name had been affixed, I should have guessed no other than Muggleton; it is exactly his size of apprehending the scriptures, or rather of a Lucian or a Julian, to mock and slander Christianity out of the world.

But that you may know whether there be reason for all this, first, I will shew you, that he makes the foundation of Christian religion to be some foolish and wicked fancies, which got into people's heads, he knows not, and says no matter, how; and instead of reforming these, and commanding us to renounce and abhor them, which one would have expected, and which Christ did to all other wickedness, the doctor's scheme is, that God, in compliance with these, and to indulge men in these same wild and wicked fancies, did send Christ, took his life, and instituted the whole economy of the Christian religion.

This appears so dreadful and astonishingly impious, that you must have patience to take it in pieces, and see by what degrees the doctor arrived at this new pitch of super-Hobbism.

First, those revelations which all the Christian world has hitherto believed God gave at the beginning to Adam, and after to the patriarchs and prophets, more expressly of the promised seed, and those types and institutions which God from the beginning did appoint as shadows and sensible representations of the expiatory death of Christ upon the cross, such as sacrifices, which for this end were commanded to Adam, practised by Cain and Abel his children, and descended by uninterrupted tradition even to his heathen posterity; though they knew not their original more than they did their own, or that of the world's; all these the doctor thinks to be only fancies and imaginations, which came (he knows not how) into men's brains.

And that to comply with these was the end of Christ's incarnation, death, &c. Whereas, on the contrary, it has been the received opinion, that instead of God's imitating or following the inventions of men or inspirations of the Devil, that the institutions of false and idolatrous religions were but corruptions and imitations of the true religion instituted by God; and that in this the Devil was but an ape of God Almighty; whence arose the saying, that where God has a church the Devil has a chapel, i. e. that the Devil does ape and imitate the institutions which God has appointed in his holy religion. Hence the Devil had his sacrifices, his feasts, his priests, &c. Not that these institutions were of the Devil's invention; he did only imitate God's institution in all these things, as the feast to his calves was in imitation of God's feast in Judah, 1 Kings xii. 32. But this author turns the tables, and would have the Devil, or wicked men by his inspiration, to



have first invented these religious rites; and then that God did follow their steps, and framed his religion after the pattern of theirs, or in condescension to their wicked fancies or imaginations, as this author words it. By which means, instead of the common opinion that God was the author of all religious worship, and the Devil the corrupter of it, this author would persuade us that the Devil was the author and first inventor of it, and that God came in but at the second hand in imitation of the Devil, and to graft upon his stock; so that if the Devil and foolish men had let alone their inventions, as of the necessity of sacrifices and vicarious suffering, of a mediator and of mysteries, we had had no need of a Mediator, of a Christ to have been a sacrifice for us, or of any mystery or religion at all: for all these, the doctor tells us, we owe to these fantastical and even diabolical prejudices and gross conceptions of mankind. And this was not out of forgetfulness of what is said above of their institution by God. No, he mentions it several times, but so slightly, and with that contempt, as if no stress at all were to be laid upon it.

Page 5 of the single Sermon, he says, "This notion of the expiation of sin by sacrifice, whether it had its first rise from divine revelation, and was afterwards propagated from age to age by tradition; I say, from whencesoever this notion come—." And, p. 11, "He (God) seems either to have possessed mankind with this principle, or to have permitted them to be so persuaded, that sin was not to be expiated but by blood; that is, either by the death of the sinner or of the sacrifice."

Serm. IV. upon John i. 14. p. 185, "It is not easy



“ to give a certain account of the true original of  
“ some notions and prejudices concerning God and  
“ religion, which have generally obtained in the  
“ world.” Several of these notions he mentions in  
the same place, as expiation of sin by sacrifices, the  
necessity of mediators to God, reverence to myste-  
ries, &c.

And these notions (however come by) he does not  
make to be grounded upon any truth, any solid rea-  
son, but to be merely fantastical, to be common pre-  
judices of mankind, nay to be not only weak and  
foolish, but wicked and abominable. Hear his own  
words; beginning of Sermon IV. p. 179, he calls  
these “ the weaknesses and common prejudices of  
“ mankind—very weak and gross apprehensions.”  
P. 189, “ very odd and fantastical—very lewd and  
“ impious—very inhuman and cruel, and every way  
“ unworthy of the Deity.” P. 206, “ inveterate pre-  
“ judices.” Single Sermon, p. 7, “ barbarous and in-  
“ human.” P. 29, “ enormities and cruelties—un-  
“ reasonable and bloody way of worship.” P. 35,  
“ inhuman and ineffectual way of sacrificing one  
“ another, whereby, instead of expiating their guilt,  
“ they did inflame it; and by thinking to make  
“ atonement for their sins, they did in truth add to  
“ the number and heinousness of them.” Serm. IV.  
p. 186, he calls this worship “ the worship of de-  
“ vils, and not of God.” And Serm. III. p. 155, he  
confesses the Devil and the world to be the two great  
enemies of our salvation, which Christ came to con-  
quer and triumph over.

Now who would imagine that the end of Christ’s  
coming should be to gratify these enemies of his  
whom he came to destroy; to comply and conde-

scend to these; and to indulge these wild and diabolical notions of mankind!

But this subtle doctor has found it out. Serm. IV. p. 179, "the wisdom of God thought fit thus to order things, in great condescension to the weakness and common prejudices of mankind." P. 184, "for the religion and laws which God gave them were far from being the best and most perfect in themselves: in which sense some understand that passage in Ezekiel, where it is said, that *God gave them statutes which were not good.*" P. 187, "God seems likewise to have very much suited the dispensation of the gospel, and the method of our salvation by the incarnation and sufferings of his Son, to the common prejudices of mankind, especially of the heathen world—by gratifying them in some measure, and in a gracious compliance with our weakness, by bending and accommodating the way and method of our salvation to our weak capacity and imperfect conceptions of things." P. 186, "God seems to have had great consideration of some very weak and gross apprehensions of mankind concerning religion." P. 206, "and he hath, in great goodness and condescension to our inveterate prejudices concerning these things, *appeared in the end of the world to take away sin by the sacrifice of himself.*" Single Sermon, p. 5, "another reason of this dispensation seems to have been a gracious condescension and compliance of Almighty God with a certain apprehension and persuasion which had very early and universally obtained among mankind, concerning the expiation of sin, and appeasing the offended Deity by sacrifices." P. 6, "God was pleased to comply so

“ far with these notions and apprehensions of theirs,  
 “ as to make his own Son both a priest and a sacri-  
 “ fice.” Serm. IV. p. 192, “ and indeed a great part  
 “ of the Jewish religion and worship was a plain  
 “ condescension to the general apprehensions of men  
 “ concerning this way of appeasing the Deity by  
 “ sacrifice.” P. 193, “ and with this general no-  
 “ tion of mankind, whatever the ground or founda-  
 “ tion of it might be, God was pleased so far to  
 “ comply, as once for all to have a general atone-  
 “ ment made for the sins of all mankind by the sa-  
 “ crifice of his only Son.” P. 195, “ the world was  
 “ mightily bent upon addressing their requests and  
 “ supplications, not to the Deity immediately, be-  
 “ cause their superstition thought that too great a  
 “ presumption, but by some mediators between the  
 “ gods and them, who might with advantage, in  
 “ this humble manner, present their requests so as  
 “ to find acceptance.”

This notion of theirs he calls *superstition*, to think that there needed any Mediator betwixt God and man. They indeed mistook the Mediator, and therein was their superstition and idolatry: but the notion was right and necessary, and deduced to them from Adam, (to whom it was revealed,) though they knew it not. But if their notion of a Mediator and sacrifice for sin was wicked, abominable, &c. as this author says, was it not wicked and abominable to comply with such a wicked and abominable notion? nay, were not the very thing of a Mediator, or sacrifice for sin, a wicked and abominable thing? How otherwise was the bare notion of it so wicked and abominable? I see not how he can escape upon this scheme, either to justify the heathen sacrifices, or condemn that of



Christ; either to say that there was no need of a Mediator, or to confess that their notion of it, which he calls *superstition*, was just and good. But if it was superstition, is it not superstition still? If a Mediator in general be superstition, is not this or that Mediator the same superstition? Is not appointing any Mediator a superstition? And must it not be superstition in any to think it necessary, as the heathens did?

And yet to comply with this superstition of theirs, the doctor makes the end of Christ's coming to be our Mediator, p. 196; "In a gracious compliance  
" with this common apprehension—God was pleased  
" to constitute and appoint one in our nature to be  
" a perpetual Advocate and Intercessor in heaven  
" for us." Again, we know the Socinians are much offended that there should be any mystery in our religion: and for this the doctor gives the same reason, viz. that it was only to comply with an odd notion the world had got to have mysteries in their religion, Serm. IV. p. 188, "the world was much  
" given to admire mysteries in religion." P. 190,  
" since the world had such an admiration for mys-  
" teries, God gave them a mystery indeed; the *mys-  
" tery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh,*" &c. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

Otherwise we needed not have had any mystery in our religion, nor any Mediator, nor any expiatory sacrifice.

Blessed God! this man makes no more of the mysteries of our religion than to satisfy men's foolish curiosities! "He that will have a May-pole shall  
" have a May-pole." Since you will have mysteries, here's one for you, *God manifest in the flesh.* This



is to satisfy their foolish longing after mysteries, and to give you your fill of mysteries. Was there ever so impious a burlesque upon God and upon the religion of Christ? as if he was incarnate for no other end but to make people wonder and gaze, and because of the mystery forsooth! and that he was crucified only to outdo raw-head and bloody-bones, the inhumanity of the heathen sacrifices; that is, to cure the wickedness and folly of men, by over-acting them in both! For what are mysteries, without any further consideration than as mysteries, that is, wonders and strange things, but the height of folly, perfect rareeshows? And what an account is it of religion to say that *God was manifest in the flesh*, to satisfy such childish curiosity, and because the world was given to admire mysteries!

They were given likewise to sacrifice, not only beasts, but to sacrifice one man for another, an innocent person for the guilty. But was not this a very wicked and inhuman custom? Yes, the doctor confesses it to have been even diabolical: and yet, to comply with this wicked and diabolical custom, and in imitation of it, he would have to be the reason why God sacrificed Christ, an innocent person for the guilty!

It makes all my flesh creep, and my soul to tremble within me, but to repeat such blasphemous schemes of Divinity, which makes God to be the Devil's ape, and to have followed his wicked inventions in the institution of the Christian religion.

But, on the contrary, Christ himself assures us that he came to destroy the works of the Devil, not to compound with the Devil, much less to gratify him in following his wicked suggestions which he

had put into the minds of men, and to carry them to greater heights of wickedness than ever the Devil himself could have done, or so much as have imagined; viz. instead of the sacrifices of beasts or of men, (which the heathens practised,) to sacrifice the Son of God himself.

*F.* The doctor puts this objection, p. 28 of single Sermon, and gives two answers to it; first, that God did not command his Son to be sacrificed, but his providence permitted the wickedness and violence of men to put him to death: and, that this is no more a reflection upon the providence of God, than any enormities and cruelties which by his permission are daily committed in the world.

*C.* We are not now upon vindicating God's providence for the permission of evil; that is starting another question, to divert us from this we are upon, which is, the reason of God's sending his Son to expiate the sins of men.

1. But if there was no more than God's bare permission, in the sacrifice of Christ, as in all other wicked actions, how was his death a sacrifice more than the death of any other man? You say, that God's covenant with him for remission of the sins of the penitent was grounded upon his death, and made with him before his death; was not this more than a bare permission of his death? How did God make him both a priest and a sacrifice by his death, as the doctor says he did, if he concurred no otherwise to his death than by such a bare permission as he suffers an honest man to be murdered by thieves? But,

2. This cannot be called bare permission: it was a method of God's own finding out and ordering,

which exceeded the inventions of men and angels. It is said, Acts iv. 28, that God did *determine it before to be done*. But though God permits evil, you will not say that he does determine or order it to be done; and God sent his Son for this very end and purpose. This was more than only permitting it.

*F.* The doctor explains it, p. 32, by this comparison; "Suppose," says he, "a malefactor condemned, and the king's son, to save him, is contented to submit to great disgrace and sufferings."

*C.* But suppose the king's son prays and begs of his father with tears that he would excuse him from such suffering, as Christ prayed to his Father, Matt. xxvi. 39, that that *cup might pass from him*?

*F.* You would seem to imply as if Christ's suffering were not voluntary.

*C.* No, not at all; but that it was not only his Father's bare permission, but his express will and pleasure, that his Son should suffer: therefore Christ said, *Not mine, but thy will be done*. And therefore, because it was his Father's will that he should suffer, he did voluntarily and resignedly submit to it. But I hope you will make this something more than his Father's bare permitting of it.

It is said, Isa. liii. 10, that *it pleased the Lord to bruise him, (Christ,) and to put him to grief*; and, *he made Christ's soul an offering for sin*. This exceeds a bare permission, such as that by which God permits the enormities and cruelties committed in the world, which is all this author would have meant by it.

*F.* His second answer is, p. 29, that "by this means God did at once put an end to that unrea-



“sonable and bloody way of worship, which had  
“been so long practised in the world. And it hath  
“ever since obtained this effect, of making all other  
“sacrifices to cease in all parts of the world where  
“Christianity hath prevailed.”

C. This is only repeating the objection, instead of answering it, as if the sacrifice of Christ (upon this author's scheme) were not more unreasonable and bloody than any other sacrifices used before.

And this being all the doctor says to the objection, we must suppose that he still thinks it to be so unreasonable: and it is the more and not the less so, that it was, as he says, p. 22, to comply with an unreasonable expectation men had of being saved by the vicarious suffering of some other in their stead; and that it was to gratify this unreasonable expectation of theirs that Christ did suffer; for if it was unreasonable for them to expect it, it was unreasonable in Christ to suffer it.

F. Repeat the doctor's own words.

C. “But this expectation, how unreasonable so-  
“ever, plainly shews it to have been the common  
“apprehension of mankind in all ages that God  
“would not be appeased, nor should sin be par-  
“doned without suffering: but yet so that men  
“generally conceived good hopes that upon the re-  
“pentance of sinners God would accept of a vica-  
“rious punishment, that is, of the suffering of some  
“other in their stead. And very probably, as I said  
“before, in compliance with this apprehension of  
“mankind, and in condescension to it, as well as  
“for other weighty reasons best known to the di-  
“vine wisdom, God was pleased to find out such a  
“sacrifice.”



*F.* The doctor says here, that it is only probable that was the reason.

*C.* Is it probable that God would sacrifice his Son in compliance with an expectation, how unreasonable soever?

But the doctor, in what I have quoted out of him before, does not make any *doubt* or *perhaps* of it, but sets it down as a plain case; as Serm. IV. p. 192. "And indeed," says he, in a positive asseveration, "a great part of the Jewish religion was a plain "condescension to the general apprehensions of men "concerning this way of appeasing God by sacrifice." And therefore he does not scruple impiously to blaspheme that religion which God gave to the Jews, and therein to arraign God its author. He says, as above quoted, Sermon IV. p. 184, that "the "religion and laws which God gave them was far "from being the best;" nay plainly, that "they were "not good," by applying to them that text, Ezek. xx. 25, or at least approving others' application of it that way, to which end he produces it.

*F.* These laws were "not good," that is, says the doctor, they were "very imperfect in comparison of "what he could have given them."

*C.* So you may say of the Christian laws; they are imperfect in respect to those of heaven: at this rate, nothing can be good but God. Yet God said of his works that *they were very good*; and said so of his laws, which he gave to the Jews out of his own mouth: and sure it is a most presumptuous blasphemy for any man to say that they were not good. They were the same with the Christian laws, as much as could be, before Christ came. They were all types and forerunners of his coming; and there-

Rom. vii. 14. fore they are called *spiritual*; their meaning was all spiritual; they are called *the gospel*, and it is said that the gospel was first preached to the Jews, Heb. iv. 2. and that *they were saved by the gospel as well as we*. The preaching of Christ is the gospel; and he was preached and exhibited in the whole Jewish economy as the *seed promised*, Gen. iii. 15; *which things the angels desire* (παρακύνει) *to stoop down with reverence and admire*. They exceeded all created understandings ever to comprehend the full glory and goodness and wisdom which is contained in them; they far excel the whole material creation; 1 Pet. i. 12. and the least *tittle of the law* is preferred before heaven and earth, and shall outlast them. And was this law far from being the best? Could this wise doctor have found out better? Were these *statutes which were not good, and judgments whereby men should not live*? Was this the meaning of these words, Ezek. xx. 25? Whereas the reason given in the very same sentence, ver. 24, for God's threatening to give them *statutes which were not good*, was as a just judgment upon them for despising those good statutes which he had given them. *Such statutes*, says God, ver. 11, *which if a man do he shall even live in them*. Yet this author would have these to be the *statutes whereby men should not live*. This is an excellent interpretation! And for the word *give*, which I suppose must have misled this author, viz. that God is said to *give them these statutes which were not good*, and therefore he has interpreted these to be the law which God gave them; God is said to *give them these evil statutes*, ver. 25, no otherwise than as he is said to *pollute them*, ver. 26, that is, to suffer them to be polluted, and to follow

Matt. v. 18.  
Luke xvi. 17.

idolatry, there meant by *the statutes which were not good*: as God had threatened, Deut. iv. 28, that if they would not serve him, he would give them up to idolatry, *to serve gods of wood and stone*, &c. But to say that the laws which God gave “were far from being the best,” that they were “not good,” is such a bold stroke, as stops nothing short of blasphemy: whereas to express their exceeding excellency, and that there was no manner of defect or imperfection in them, they are often compared to gold purified seven times in the fire, till no dross at all was left. They were called *pure and perfect*, Prov. xxx. and therefore we are commanded neither to *add nor* <sup>5.</sup> *diminish*. They are called *our life, holy and just* Deut. xxxii. 47. *and good, far exceeding all perfection*. But Dr. <sup>47.</sup> Till——n thinks they were nothing but a complai- Rom. vii. 2. Psal. cxix. 96. sance to the folly and wickedness of men. O good God! was the glorious gospel and salvation by Christ not only exhibited under its types in the law, but *promised before the world began, purposed from* Tit. i. 2. Eph. iii. 11. Psal. cxix. 15. *eternity, founded for ever*; was the *blood of the* Heb. xiii 20. *everlasting testament* shed, for no other reasons but to comply with men’s foolish expectations, how unreasonable soever!

That such dreadful blasphemy should ever be heard in a Christian nation! that it should pass uncensured!

*F.* The doctor says there may be other weighty reasons best known to the divine Wisdom.

*C.* This is perfect shifting and putting off. No doubt the divine Wisdom has many reasons for every thing he does, which we cannot comprehend. But the doctor gives no other reason, and it is to be supposed he would have given a better if he had it. Our



dispute is not what God knows, but what God has revealed: and how this doctor understands those revelations, and whether according to the received doctrine of the catholic church, particularly as it is professed in the church of England, in that great and fundamental point of the satisfaction of Christ, wherein if what is said be not sufficient, I will further shew you that he is altogether a Socinian, even in this sermon which he has published to blind the eyes of the world, and free himself from that imputation.

First, he absolutely and avowedly cuts off the whole doctrine of satisfaction due to the justice of God for our sins, or if due, that it need not be paid; and therefore, whatever other reasons there may be, that can be none of the reasons of Christ's dying for us; "not," says the doctor in this Sermon, p. 11, "that God could not have pardoned sin without satisfaction made to his justice, either by the suffering of the sinner himself, or of a sacrifice in his stead." P. 26, "God did not want goodness to have forgiven sin freely and without any satisfaction."

*F.* Why, will you say that God did want so much goodness?

*C.* By *goodness* here you mean *mercy*; and we know it is the proper effect of mercy to forgive; and God's mercy is infinite, and so is his justice; they do not thwart or contradict one another, but they exalt and magnify one another.

Now the doctor would put a sophism upon us; to bid us deny that goodness or mercy will forgive, or to say that God is stinted in his mercy or goodness. But we will say that justice cannot be satis-



fied without full payment made, and that God is not crippled or stinted in his justice more than in his mercy; for he is justice itself; and therefore what is necessary to the nature of justice must be so to his nature, for they are the same. In your sense God's attributes fight with one another, and one must overcome the other.

But as we explain it, they all stand full and infinite, and no one encroaches upon the other; but they rejoice and exult together, and one extols and glorifies the other.

Thus God's justice is magnified in requiring full satisfaction, his wisdom in finding it, and his mercy or goodness in giving that satisfaction for us.

Now I appeal to yourself, whether this be not more rational, than to make the end of all the glorious dispensation of the gospel to be nothing else than a compliance with a parcel of unreasonable, and even wicked and diabolical fancies, which had possessed men's minds, no matter how; especially considering that the author and preacher of this glorious conceit, Serm. IV. p. 180, confesses that notwithstanding of all that he can say in favour of this brat of his own brain, "it may still seem strange to  
" a considering man, that God, who, without all this  
" circumstance and condescension, could have done  
" the business for which his Son came into the  
" world, should yet make choice of this way for the  
" redemption and recovery of fallen man." That is to say, that God should sacrifice his own Son for nothing, to no purpose in the world, when all that his Son came for, might have been as well done without it. And this indeed must eternally seem strange to any man of common sense.

*F.* But the doctor defends himself in the words just following; viz. “ I make no manner of doubt “ to say, that it would be a great presumption and “ boldness in any man to affirm, that the infinite “ wisdom of God could not have brought about the “ salvation of men by any other way than by this “ very way in which he hath done it.”

*C.* This is the doctor’s usual topic, (which I observed to you in our last conversation concerning his sermon of hell,) when reason fails him, to fly to God’s omnipotence, and dare us to say that God cannot do this or that; and therefore that what the doctor says may be true, for who dare say that God cannot make it true?

*F.* But after all, will you say that God could not have saved man any other way than by the sacrifice of Christ?

*C.* To avoid that irreverent manner of expression, of saying God *cannot*—I say that, from the very nature of justice, which is God, there was a necessity for a full and adequate satisfaction to be made for sin.

Whether any other satisfaction could have been found, besides the sacrifice of Christ, is another question. And not to enter into the depths of God, I will give you these reasons why no other way was possible by any argument or thought imaginable to us: because the person must be infinite who could pay an infinite debt, (for such is sin, being an offence against infinite goodness,) and likewise must be man, that the same nature which offended should make the satisfaction; and therefore that Christ took upon him the nature of man, and not the person of any man, that he might make satisfaction for mankind,

and not only for any particular person. Hence he took all our natural, but none of our personal infirmities: he was subject to sleep, weariness, grief, pain, and even death, all which are incident to our nature, but not to sickness, blindness, lameness, or any personal infirmities. Since therefore it was necessary that our Redeemer must be God-man, I think it will follow that it could be none other but Christ.

Again, I think this question is decided, Matt. xxvi. 39, where Christ prays, that *if it were possible, that cup might pass from him*: which shews that it was not possible for him to accomplish the redemption of man, which he had undertaken, without suffering death; otherwise, no doubt, God would not have refused the petition of his well-beloved Son: and it is no impeachment of the wisdom of God to say there was no other way possible; but, on the contrary, it is carrying the notion of wisdom to the utmost height, that when there was but one possible way, wisdom should find it out.

And the doctor himself stumbles upon this unawares: it is hard to be constant in error, which is itself all unconstancy. P. 10 of single Sermon he said, that “ nothing less than the perfect innocency “ and holiness of him who was to be a sacrifice for “ us could have expiated the guilt of our sins, and “ purchased eternal redemption for us.” Secondly, “ great sufferings likewise in our nature, even to “ the suffering of death, were requisite to the perfect expiation of sin; I say even to the suffering “ of death.”

These are the doctor's words: from whence I argue, that none had perfect innocency and holiness



but God, and therefore that none but he *could* have expiated the guilt of our sins.

Secondly, the sufferings for expiating the guilt of our sins must be in our nature; therefore the expiator must be likewise man.

Thirdly, these sufferings must be even unto death. From all which it follows that none could be this expiator but Christ, God and man, and that he must suffer even unto death.

If all which be true, then I desire the doctor to answer his own objection, and tell us how it was possible for the redemption of man to have been effected any other way.

I would recommend to him his own advice upon this very matter, Serm. IV. p. 181, which he says he follows all along, to take the express declarations, or at least the pregnant intimations of scripture for his ground and guide; it being always safest to take the reasons of the divine counsels and actions from God himself.

Now we would gladly know (for he has no where told us) in what place of scripture it is revealed that God's sending his Son, and all the economy of the gospel, was to gratify and indulge the senseless and wicked prejudices which men had picked up concerning religion; for that is the account the doctor gives us of his faith: and it is more monstrous by far than any ever I heard set up, even by the Socinians themselves.

Yet the doctor does not forsake them, though he thus advances sometimes in stretches beyond them: for, single Sermon, p. 21, he sets up in express terms the account the Socinians give of the remission of sins by Christ, viz. that it was not upon account of



any satisfaction made by Christ for our sins, but only an arbitrary covenant, they cannot tell why, which God made with Christ, that if he would be crucified God would remit the sins of the penitent; and that there was no need nor necessity for this covenant, because God might have remitted sins as well without this covenant, or upon any other covenant, the turning of a straw, or what you will, or upon no covenant at all; so that this covenant with Christ was wholly causeless, needless, and arbitrary.

The same Socinian covenant this author sets up in the page above quoted, where he says, that upon the sufferings of Christ "God thereupon entered into "a covenant of grace and mercy with mankind, "wherein he engaged himself to forgive the sins of "those who believe and repent."

Thus this author holds with the Socinians by excluding the satisfaction from being any part of the covenant, or considered at all in it.

*F.* You would make one think it strange how the doctor came to preach and publish such a sermon as this with a design against the Socinians.

*C.* It was really to do them service, and reconcile men more to their principles, by lessening the differences which are conceived betwixt them and us, (a topic much in practice with the Jesuits in their disputes with the protestants, as Mahomet went to the mountain that would not come to him,) which he makes so small as to consist in "nothing but "words," p. 32; "to signify just nothing," p. 31. For an account of this you will find p. 16, 31, 32. He sums up the difference betwixt the Socinians and us, as to the doctrine of satisfaction, to consist only in this, that the Socinians say Christ suffered

*for us, or for our sake*; whereas others would have it understood that Christ suffered *for us*, that is, *in our stead*; which the doctor proves, p. 32, to be a “mere controversy about words.” And so the matter is shortly reconciled which has so much taken up the Christian church; and that very undeservedly and uncharitably, if the difference be no more than this author would have us believe; out of friendship to which party is easy to discover; for he has turned the doctrine of satisfaction, which is the whole of this controversy, to be no part of the controversy; and indeed without it all the rest is a contest about words; and he would make you believe that there is no more betwixt the Socinians and us, than whether Christ died *for our sake*, or *in our stead*, which, he says, are the same.

Having thus cleverly brought off his beloved Socinians, he no longer conceals his dear and intimate affection to them. He prefers them before all sorts of men in the world, and says, Serm. II. p. 72, that even the protestant, the popish, nay, the very Jesuits themselves, are in comparison of them but mere scolds and bunglers. And, p. 70, 71, he says, “To do right to the writers on that side, (the Socinians,) I must own generally they are a pattern of the fair way of disputing, and of debating matters of religion, without heat and unseemly reflections upon their adversaries <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Witness the sweet and gentle epithets of *brutal, false, nonsense*, &c. which in one page of the History of the Unitarians (p. 24.) are bestowed on us: that our faith is “absurd, and contrary both to reason and to itself; impossible, inexcusable;” and that “not to discern it is not to be a man.” Ibid. Besides many other the like endearing compliments in other places; as

“ They generally argue matters with that temper  
“ and gravity, with that freedom from passion and  
“ transport, which becomes a serious and weighty  
“ argument. And for the most part they reason  
“ closely and clearly, with extraordinary guard and  
“ caution, with great dexterity and decency, and yet  
“ with smartness and subtilty enough, with a very  
“ gentle heat, and few hard words.”

A man could hardly describe his mistress in a softer air. The Socinians must be very ill-natured if they take any thing amiss which this gentleman has said against them. It was mere necessity; they see how unwillingly and artificially he has done it; and when rightly understood, (no doubt they understand him,) what he has said is with a design to give a better account of them than has been done, to take off that frightful character with which some have painted them, not allowing them the very name of *Christians*; whereas, alas! the doctor has told us that there is nothing betwixt them and us but a “mere controversy about words,” which all mean the same thing. And then, that they are the best tempered, the goodest sort of people in all the world: so that we need not be afraid of them, nor stand upon our guard against them. And then they are the most ingenuous and the sweetest men; that we should love to converse with them, and read their writings; all the Christian writers are but scolds and bunglers to them.

This is our author's method of opposing Socinianism, nor are they behind him in their civility and

*impudent, blasphemous, and even diabolical and idolatrous; polytheism, depths of Satan*: thus they call the Christian doctrine which we profess.

due respect in the Answer they have published this year, 1694, to his abovesaid four Sermons, with other discourses against them. “He” (say they, that is, Dr. Till. whom they call archbishop of Cant.) “is the common father of the nation, and “has instructed the Socinians themselves, with the “air and language of a father, not of an adversary “or a judge. He is respected and loved by all, but “those that are also known to hate their country : “he hath no other maligners but the enemies of the “nation itself<sup>b</sup>,” &c.

*Claw me, and I'll claw you.* Here is love and good correspondence in abundance ! these gentlemen know their friends ; and the cause of Christianity is like to be well defended, when it is maintained by some of a party, on purpose that it may be soundly answered by others of them, who play booty to one another's hands, and commend and recommend one another to all men's esteem and veneration.

But that this may not be discovered, they agree sometimes, like counsels at the bar, to fall foul upon one another, even to scold and call names ; which, to the wise observers, serves only to expose either their contradictory banter, or otherwise their hypocritical malice and deceit.

Thus, notwithstanding of Dr. T.'s *honey words*, above told, and all his *love fits*, to the Socinians, he lends them a bit and a blow : *Amantium iræ*—“he “plays with his clog.”

First, I will give you his character of Socinus

<sup>b</sup> Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity. Occasioned by Four Sermons preached by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Cant., &c. p. 43.



himself, the head and founder of that order, and then of the Socinians his followers.

Serm. I. p. 17, 18. he tells the method of Socinus in interpreting scriptures, which was “merely by  
 “criticising upon words, and searching into all the  
 “senses they are possibly capable of, till he can  
 “find one, though never so forced and foreign, that  
 “will save harmless the opinion which he was beforehand resolved to maintain, even against the  
 “most natural and obvious sense of the text which  
 “he undertakes to interpret.” P. 44, that he puts  
 “quite another sense” upon the scripture than the doctor believes “was thought of by any Christian  
 “writer whatsoever before Socinus.” P. 45, he accuses the “novelty, great violence, and unreasonable-  
 “ableness, and utter inconsistency” of Socinus’s interpretations of scripture. And, that it may not be forgot, he repeats all this again, Serm. II. p. 57; and in p. 58 he calls Socinus’s interpretations *strained and violent, pitiful and wretched shifts, precarious and arbitrary*, without either *reason* or *modesty*. P. 68, “And as to the novelty of it,  
 “Socinus himself makes no difficulty to own it,  
 “nay, he seems rather to rejoice and applaud himself in it. Unhappy man! that was so wedded to  
 “his own opinion, that no objection, no difficulty  
 “could divorce him from it.” P. 77, “Socinus—  
 “imposing a new and very odd and violent sense,  
 “contrary to the sense of the Christian church in  
 “all ages down to his time; and all this only to  
 “serve and support an opinion which he had entertained before, and therefore was resolved one way  
 “or other to bring the scripture to comply with it.  
 “And if he could not have done it, it is greatly to

“ be feared that he would at last have called in  
 “ question the divine authority of St. John’s Gospel,  
 “ rather than have quitted his opinion.

“ And to speak freely, I must needs say, that it  
 “ seems to me a much fairer way to reject the  
 “ divine authority of a book, than to use it so dis-  
 “ ingenuously, and to wrest the plain expressions of  
 “ it, with so much straining and violence, from their  
 “ most natural and obvious sense: for no doctrine  
 “ whatsoever can have any certain foundation in  
 “ any book, if this liberty be once admitted, without  
 “ regard to the plain scope and occasion of it, to  
 “ play upon the words and phrases.” P. 80, “Soci-  
 “ nus, by a dangerous liberty of imposing a foreign  
 “ and forced sense upon particular texts, (has)  
 “ brought the whole (holy scriptures) into uncer-  
 “ tainty.” P. 82, “any one that reads him may  
 “ see he was sufficiently conscious to himself (of the  
 “ novelty and boldness of his interpretation).” P. 83,  
 “ Socinus was the first author of this interpretation,  
 “ because it was impossible he could ever have been  
 “ so fond of so ill-favoured a child, if it had not  
 “ been his own.” P. 114, “of which (antiquity),  
 “ as Socinus had but little knowledge, so he seems  
 “ to have made but little account.”

This is our author’s character of Socinus, a man of no learning, despising antiquity, because ignorant of it; arrogant and conceited, past all modesty, boasting that none in the world understood the true meaning of scripture before himself. Of which the doctor gives several quotations out of his own words. *Serm., II. p. 69.* Yet that his shifts were pitiful and wretched, strained and violent, precarious and arbitrary, without either reason or

modesty; that he was so positive an opiniator, that he would rather have denied the holy scripture than been convinced of his error; that he dealt so disingenuously with the holy scripture, wresting the plain expressions of it in such a manner, that the doctor thought it preferable to reject their divine authority, rather than to abuse them as he has done; nay, that no writing whatsoever can have any certain meaning, if Socinus's liberty be allowed, of playing with the words and phrases.

Thus much for Socinus himself. Let us now see whether this author gives a more favourable character of his disciples, to make good the high eulogiums above told. *Serm. II. p. 69*, speaking of Schlictingius, one of the first form in his school, our author says, he carried himself with more confidence, but much less decency, than his master; that he spoke "so extravagantly, and with so much contempt of those great and venerable names, who were the chief propagators of Christianity in the world, and to whom all ages do so justly pay a reverence, that (he said) those ancient interpreters went so far from the apostles' meaning, as if they had raved, and been out of their wits."

And the doctor says in general of the Socinians, *Serm. I. p. 39*, that their interpretations of the holy scriptures were strange and extravagant; *p. 44*, did contradict, not only the ancient Fathers, but "the general consent of all Christians for 1500 years together;" *p. 61*, that they "avoid the plain and necessary consequence of holy scriptures by strained and forced arts of interpretation;" *p. 62*, "than which nothing can be more unnatural and violent;" *p. 65*, "which, I dare say, no indifferent



“ reader of St. John, that had not been prepossessed  
 “ and biassed by some violent prejudice, would ever  
 “ have thought of.” P. 75, “ the plainest text for  
 “ any article of faith, how fundamental and neces-  
 “ sary soever, may, by the same arts and ways of  
 “ interpretation, be eluded and rendered utterly in-  
 “ effectual for the establishing of it.” P. 92, 93, This  
 “ is so very arbitrary and precarious a supposition,  
 “ that I must confess myself a little out of counte-  
 “ nance for them, that men of so much wit and  
 “ reason should ever be put to so sorry and pitiful  
 “ a shift.” P. 96, “ This is so inartificial, not to  
 “ say absurd, a way of avoiding a difficulty, that no  
 “ man of common ingenuity would make use of it :”  
 p. 99, “ a sense so very flat, that I can hardly ab-  
 “ stain from calling it ridiculous.” P. 113, “ we  
 “ may plainly see by this, that they can interpret a  
 “ text right when necessity forceth them to it, and  
 “ they cannot, without great inconveniency to their  
 “ cause, avoid it : but when men have once resolved  
 “ to hold fast an opinion they have taken up, it  
 “ then becomes not only convenient but necessary  
 “ to understand nothing that makes against it : and  
 “ this is truly the present case. But, in the mean  
 “ time, where is ingenuity and love of truth ?”  
 P. 115, “ they triumph without modesty and with-  
 “ out measure.” P. 125, “ Do they see no absurd-  
 “ ity in all this ? nothing that is contrary to reason  
 “ and good sense ? nothing that feels like inconsis-  
 “ tency and contradiction ?” P. 129, “ which way  
 “ (the Socinians’ way) of dealing with them (the  
 “ holy scriptures) seems to be really more contume-  
 “ lious to those holy oracles than the downright re-  
 “ jecting of their authority.” And single Serm.



p. 18, "he that can deny this (the doctor's argument against the Socinians) is perverse to the highest degree, and I fear beyond the possibility of being convicted." P. 20, "men may eternally wrangle about any thing; but what a frivolous contention, what a trifling in serious matter, what barratry in divinity is this!" P. 30, "so little do men in the heat of dispute and opposition, who are resolved to hold fast an opinion in despite of reason and good sense, consider that they do many times in effect, and by necessary consequence, grant the very thing in express terms they do so stiffly and pertinaciously deny;" p. 32, "and this for no other reason, that I can imagine, but because they have denied it so often and so long."

*F.* These so different characters which the doctor gives of Socinus and the Socinians may be reconciled by saying, as I suppose the doctor means, that this latter evil character belongs to them only in this present controversy of the Trinity, the divinity and satisfaction of Christ; but that the former high and most extraordinary excellent character is due to them in other matters of religion, as against the church of Rome; which the doctor seems to intend, *Serm. II. p. 79*, where he says, "that the Socinian writers have managed the cause of the reformation against the innovations and corruptions of the church of Rome, both in doctrine and practice, with great acuteness and advantage."

*C.* And yet in the very next words he says, "that the Socinians have put into their (the papists) hands better and sharper weapons than ever they had before, for the weakening and undermining of the authority of the holy scriptures." And, *p. 129*,

“ that nothing hath given a greater force to the  
“ exceptions of the church of Rome against the holy  
“ scriptures being a sufficient and certain rule of  
“ faith, than the uncertainty into which they (the  
“ Socinians) have brought the plainest texts imaginable, for the establishing of doctrines of the  
“ greatest moment in the Christian religion, by  
“ their remote and wrested interpretations of them.”  
And, p. 124, “ that to avoid the shadow and appearance of a plurality of Deities they run really  
“ into it; and into downright idolatry.”

Now, how invalidating the holy scriptures, and introducing idolatry, is managing the cause of the reformation with acuteness and advantage against the church of Rome, I leave to the worthy doctor to explain. And likewise how men can deserve such extravagant commendations for wit, and modesty, and all discretion and temper in one point of controversy, and in another to be quite void of all these, to fall into all ridiculous absurdities and contradictions, and to manage without either reason or modesty; to be so wedded to their own opinion, as rather to renounce the holy scriptures than endure to be convinced by them in their most foolish and groundless errors, taken up against the whole Christian world since the days of Christ!

Modesty and sweetness in a man's temper will shew itself in all his actions; and a strong reason cannot overlook a contradiction in one case more than another, at least not to be so obstinately wedded to it, as to be deaf to all conviction.

But we have spent too much time upon this author's character of these Socinians, which is not material, otherwise than to shew his own uncon-

stancy and inconsistency with himself; how unwillingly he is brought to appear against them; and what salvos and shifts he makes use of, to make them understand him, that he might not lose their favour.

God grant him and them true conviction, and save unstable souls from their snares.

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### POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE this was wrote, the author before spoke of (Dr. T.) has printed a Sermon concerning the Unity of the Divine Nature, and the B. Trinity.

And here, if ever, we might expect full satisfaction in this point: but it is so far from it, that of all the others we have considered, this Sermon does most palpably bewray his wretched Socinianism, if not something worse; for he not only speaks the very Socinian language of the Trinity, but he really undermines the unity of God, by his setting it up upon a foundation which he himself, in this same Sermon, quite overthrows. His great proof is, p. 10, “the general consent of mankind concerning the unity of God;” that “the unity of the divine nature is a notion wherein the greatest and the wisest part of mankind did always agree,” p. 4. And yet, speaking of the heathen idolatry, (which was all the rest of the world except the small nation of the Jews) he says plainly, p. 9, that “the generality were grossly guilty both of believing more gods, and of worshipping false gods:” p. 10, “and did terminate their worship there, (in the idol,) as being the very Deity itself: which was cer-



“tainly,” says he, “the case of the greatest part of “the heathen world.” And yet upon the belief of this *greatest part* he builds the unity of God, when he confesses that this *greatest part* did not believe the unity of God. All the salvo for this most palpable contradiction is what he offers p. 9, viz. that the unity of the divine nature “was the primitive “and general belief of mankind, and that polytheism “and idolatry were a corruption and degeneracy “from the original notion which mankind had concerning God.”

I do not doubt but Adam worshipped the true God. And it is as true that idolatry came in very soon; some say Cain introduced it. And that there was a very great defection so quickly made, that it is recorded of the birth of Enos, that *then began men to call upon the name of the Lord*, Gen. iv. 26, as if they had never done it before. And the scripture tells of the general corruption before the flood. After the flood, we know the whole world was swallowed up in an universal idolatry, except only the family of Abraham, and after him of the Jews, who also were continually lapsing into it.

What then becomes of this author’s *greatest part* of mankind, and his *always*? that this *greatest part* did *always* agree in the notion of the unity of God? Whereas he, in the same place, makes this *greatest part* to have been *always*, since the world was peopled, believers and worshippers of more gods and false gods, in such gross idolatry, (as I cannot believe ever befell one man since Adam, or that it is possible to befall any man, being so apparent a contradiction, viz.) to terminate our worship in the image or idol, “as being the very Deity itself.” For



how can any man believe such a thing to be *the image* or *picture* of another thing, and yet to be that very thing of which it is the image? Or is it in any man's power to believe that a thing can be *the image* or *idol* of itself? Could Solomon believe this? Or was not he an idolater?

We know whom this favours, and there may be a time to recant even our nostrum against transubstantiation. It would be no greater change than what has been already! and "there is no stop in "art," nor are we ever "too old to learn."

Thus much for his betraying the unity of God, by placing it upon a foundation which he himself hath overthrown.

Next, to shew that as to the Trinity of God he speaks the very Socinian language.

All that he says of it is in sect. 3. p. 19, 20, because he must say something. He is soon weary of it, and first he gives a broadside against it in direct opposition to what the divines say of it; (he desires not, or deserves not, to be reckoned one of the number;) for the dispute is not about the words *trinity* or *person*, but as to *the sense* of these words, in which they are used by divines. The Socinians own a Trinity; and they have lately reprinted and published Biddle's Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity. But all the matter is in what sense the word *trinity* is used by our divines, and by the Socinians; and in this he peremptorily determines against the sense of the divines, as anti-scriptural. He says, that "neither the word *trinity*, "nor perhaps *person*, in the sense in which it is "used by divines, when they treat of this mystery, "are any where to be met with in scripture." This

is directly opposing the doctrine of the Trinity, as taught by divines. But he brings himself off thus: "Yet it cannot be denied," says he, "but that three  
 "are there spoken of by the names of *Father, Son,*  
 "and *Holy Ghost*, [this no Socinian in the world  
 "denies,] in whose name every Christian is bap-  
 "tized, [this is likewise granted by the Socinians,]  
 "and to each of whom the highest titles and pro-  
 "perties of God are in scripture attributed." Neither does this offend the Socinians, who plead the same in answer to John i. 3. as you have it in the Brief History of the Unitarians, which solves that text, *All things were made by him*, (i. e. by the *Λόγος*, or Word,) thus: "The Word," says he, "be-  
 "gins here to be spoken of as a person, by the same  
 "figure of speech that Solomon saith, *Wisdom hath*  
 "*builded her house, and hewn out her seven pil-*  
 "*lars*, Prov. ix. 1; and that David calls God's com-  
 "mandments *counsellors*, Psal. cxix. 24."

And, in conclusion, this author is willing to compound for the word *person*, (of which we have spoke before,) "so long," says he, "as we mean by it nei-  
 "ther more nor less than what the scripture says in  
 "other words."

But he has told you before, that there is no such thing to be found in scripture, "in the sense in  
 "which it is used by divines?" and what other sense he means is easy to tell; for the present controversy is only betwixt the two senses, of the divines (as he calls them) and the Socinians; unless he means something else by the word *divines*, and so makes the whole a banter upon us. For he does not explain himself, nor say one word more, in all that Sermon touching the Blessed Trinity, of the

difference betwixt the Socinians and us concerning this great fundamental of our faith. And whether this be, or whether it be not, a sufficient clearing of himself, as to what side he inclines, when he could find no more to say against the Socinians upon this point, in a Discourse which he entitles, and so would make us believe to be, “A Vindication of the Christian Doctrines as to the Blessed Trinity against that of the Socinians,” I leave to the impartial reader.

And now for a conclusion, upon the whole that has been said of all his sermons, they are all the genuine effects of Hobbism, which loosens the notions of religion, takes from it all that is spiritual, ridicules whatever is called supernatural; it reduces God to matter, and religion to nature. In this school Dr. T. has these many years held the first form, and now diffuses his poison from a high station. It is many years ago since the E. of D., one Sunday that Dr. T. preached at Whitehall, told king Charles II. that Mr. Hobbs was got into the pulpit; his politics are *leviathan*, and his religion is *latitudinarian*, which is none; that is, nothing that is positive, but against every thing that is positive in other religions; whereby to reduce all religions to an uncertainty, and determinable only by the civil power, against whose command Dr. T. does not think it lawful to preach the gospel, “without such extraordinary commission as the apostles had, and that we were able to vouch it with miracles, as they did<sup>c</sup>,” which is as much as Hobbs himself could have asked, if he had got into the pulpit in person, and not sent his deputy. He is owned by

<sup>c</sup> Preached before King Charles II., at Whitehall, the 2d of April, 1680, upon Josh. xxiv. 15.



the atheistical wits of all England, as their true primate and apostle; they glory and rejoice in him, and make their public boasts of him; he leads them not only the length of Socinianism, (they are but slender beaux have got no further than that,) but to call in question all revelation; to turn Genesis, &c. into a mere romance; to ridicule the whole, as Blount, Gildon, and others of the doctor's disciples have done in print. They now cry there is nothing but natural religion. All that which is called *revealed* is at most but God's compliance with the superstition of the vulgar; and what does that concern men of wit and sense? Since religion has no deeper a root, what reverence, what veneration is due to it? All the ordinances and constitutions of the Law and Gospel are but politics to secure government; and the threatenings even of hell itself are no more; and therefore there is no necessity, no certainty, that they will be inflicted, as our primate has boldly asserted in the very face of the government; and his Sermon was printed "by their Majesty's special command." Thus do the Deists triumph! and thus *actum est de religione*, if none dare oppose "these depths of Satan," and the *spiritual wickednesses* which are now set up *in high places*. When this Sermon of hell was first published, it was handed about among the great debauchees and small atheistical wits more than any new play ever came out. He was not a man of fashion who wanted one of them in his pocket, or could not draw it out at the coffee-house, and read a lecture of the priestridden ages, who were frightened with the eternity of hell, only to keep them in absolute subjection to the church forsooth! and then



to run two or three divisions in praise of Dr. T., as a man of sense and reason, and not afraid to undeceive the world, and break off from a company of formal and narrow-spirited churchmen, who, going on in the track of their fathers, durst not understand the scriptures out of the ancient road, in a generous latitude, over the pales of any church or profession whatsoever, but crept on still in their straight and narrow way to heaven; which Dr. T., like another Prometheus, having stole the divine secret, has opened so broad and wide, as to let in the latitudinarians, that is, all the world; and after some reasonable time even hell itself: for God has only threatened that *they shall not enter into his rest*; and the doctor has determined in that hellish Sermon, p. 13. and 15, that God is not obliged to execute his threatenings, though he is to perform his promises. But having spoke at large of this in a former conversation with you, I will not repeat.

I am now only, from the constant tract of all his sermons, (as well before as since this revolution, but now highly improved and grown bolder,) shewing you what a face he puts upon religion; he gives it quite another turn from what all other divines, ancient and modern, (except those infected with Hobbism,) have told us. They make the chief business of religion to respect another world, though it is likewise highly useful, and the most efficacious of any other means whatsoever, to preserve the peace of this. But Mr. Hobbs, Dr. T., &c. make its *chief*, and indeed almost *only* consideration, to respect the peace and quietness of this world; which is largely set forth in his Sermon before the House of Commons, the 5th of November. 1678, upon

Luke ix. 55, 56, where, as if religion were good for nothing else but to secure temporal government and peace in this world, he demands magisterially, and with great vehemence, in these words, “And, for God’s sake, what is religion good for, but to reform the manners and dispositions of men; to restrain human nature from violence and cruelty, from falsehood and treachery, from sedition and rebellion?” And then, in the very next words, he roundly, and without mincing the matter, comes to the objection, that if this be all the end of religion, it were better to have no religion at all, than to disturb our outward peace and tranquillity for it; because the end is always to be preferred before the means: and therefore, if the end of all religion be only to preserve *the peace of this world*, it follows necessarily that religion must give place to *the peace of this world*; so that if both cannot stand together, we must part with our religion to preserve *the peace of this world*.

Here the Dr. does distinguish, and puts in a salvo for his dearly beloved natural religion, because he can make of that what he will. But he plainly and in terms gives up the cause as to all revealed religion; that it were better have no such thing, that is, no Christ or Christianity, rather than to disturb “our peace in this world for it.”

“Better it were,” says he, “there were no revealed religion, and that human nature were left to the conduct of its own principles and inclinations, which are much more mild and merciful, much more for the peace and happiness of human society, than to be acted by a religion that is continually supplanting government, and undermin-

“ing the welfare of mankind.” This is their *outward welfare* he is still speaking of. And above, in the same page, aggravating the mischiefs of disturbances upon account of religion, viz. “setting a “keener edge upon men’s spirits,” and making them more cruel and bitter to one another, he concludes thus: “For let any man say worse of atheism and “infidelity if he can.” Here is a bold challenge; and the doctor could not but foresee the answer which would be ready in every man’s mouth, that hell and damnation, which are threatened as the punishment to atheism and infidelity, were much worse than any embroilments could be in this world. But he has made hell precarious, and consequently religion to look no further than this world, at least with any certainty.

But it is not only matters of such consequence as government which the doctor prefers to revealed religion; but, to shew his utmost contempt of it, he has found out so very mean a thing to compare to it, and prefer before it, as must surprise and astonish every Christian reader.

He makes a woman’s giving out her child to nurse to be a more heinous matter than to renounce Christ and all revealed religion. His words are these:

“And this,” says he, (that is, a woman’s nursing her own child,) “is a natural duty, and, because it “is so, of a more necessary and indispensable obligation than any positive precept of revealed religion<sup>d</sup>.”

Now the belief of Christ is nothing else but a

<sup>d</sup> Six Sermons printed together, 1694. Sermon III. Concerning the Education of Children, p. 103.

“positive precept of revealed religion.” Christ’s is the only truly revealed religion. God never revealed any other : for the gospel was preached to the Jews as well as unto us. Heb. iv. 2. The Law and the Prophets taught Christ *to come*, as the gospel shewed him when he *was come*. From the first revelation of him, Gen. iii. 15, to the end of the world, it is the same gospel, the same Christ, that is revealed.

And Dr. T., even since he came to Cant., has printed it, and published it to all the world, that he thinks a woman’s nursing her own child is more necessary than the belief of Christ, and of more indispensable obligation.

And his poor reason, because it is a natural duty, will advance every passion or vice, that we think to be natural, above all the commands of God in scripture.

We know what sins the libertines do plead for as natural ; and they think that marriage, which is but a positive precept, ought not to supersede the natural freedom.

These men measure good and evil by their present corrupted nature, and thereby give their lusts the ascendent, and a superior authority to the written word of God. By which means they have shaken themselves loose from all discipline of religion ; *but what they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves,* Jude 10.

What our nature was before the fall we cannot now tell ; and that only can be truly called *natural* ; that is, what was agreeable to our nature in its purity and in its perfection ; not now in its broken and corrupted condition.



Which is therefore much more safely conducted by unerrable revelation from God, than to have those sacred oracles overruled and superseded by our very fallible notions of nature, which every man may make to mean what he pleases: for what is counted very vile and abominable in some nations is practised without scruple among other people, and thought very natural, and therefore very good.

Nay, a man may think that to be natural to-day, which to-morrow he may think quite otherwise; which shews the fallibility of this rule.

Even this great natural doctor himself, in the reign of king Charles II., thought (at least preached it before the king) that sedition and rebellion, perfidiousness and perjury, were contrary to the natural notions; and therefore that no revelation was to be credited which did but *allow* of them; no, not though even miracles were done in confirmation of any such revelation<sup>e</sup>.

And yet, this notwithstanding, he justified the present revolution from the visible *finger of God* in it, and the plain signatures and characters of a more immediate divine interposition<sup>f</sup>; such as the “uncertainty of the weather,” the infatuation of the Jesuits’ councils, and other such like signatures of a divine interposition which he mentions: and from such miraculous interpositions he justifies those (whom he calls *the worthies of our nation*) who deserted, betrayed, and took arms against king James. So that we find the doctor’s nature and his natural notions varied in a very little time, and

<sup>e</sup> Sermon III. upon 1 John iv. 1. vol. III. p. 76, 77.

<sup>f</sup> Thanksgiving Sermon for our Deliverance by the Prince of Orange, p. 68—72.

upon a small variation of circumstances; insomuch that what one day he would not trust to revelation or miracles for, the next day the turning of the wind shall be argument sufficient.

For some men's notions of what is natural are suited to what they find agreeable to their nature, that is, to their ease, their convenience, or sometimes to their lusts and pleasures, or even their resentments and basest passions.

I would not here be misunderstood, as if I meant to decry all natural religion and reason. No doubt there is such a light imprinted in our nature by God; but it is much darkened since the fall, and needs the assistance of revelation to direct our way to heaven. And it ought to be subservient to revelation; which is all I plead for; and not set up against it, and preferred before it, as this doctor and others of his principles have rashly done.

I compare our natural light or knowledge to the creation of the first day. And it is the light of the first day which we enjoy still; but not as it was that day created. It was regulated and modelled the fourth day into the sun, moon, and stars: and now we have no participation at all of the light of the first day, but what we have from its regulation on the fourth day, and conveyed to us from the sun; which I compare to revealed, that is, the Christian religion: God is called *light*, 1 John i. 5; and Christ, Matt. iv. 2, is called the *Sun of righteousness*: and though there is a precedent natural knowledge of God, like the light of the first day, yet now that Christ is revealed, the true knowledge of God is to be had, as the scripture speaks, only *in the face of Jesus Christ*; for none know God truly

*but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him, Matt. xi. 27.*

And to go back now from the revealed to natural religion is as if we should forsake the light of the sun, to grope after the light of the first day.

And as Christ is superior to our natural light or reason, so the institutions of his revealed religion do take place of our natural instincts.

Thus shall a *man leave his father and mother*, which are natural relations, *and shall cleave to his wife*, which is a positive institution.

Kings and bishops, our governors both in church and state, our spiritual and political fathers, have greater authority over us than our natural parents.

So far is it from being true which Dr. T. has set up as a maxim, that what he calls *natural duties* “are of more necessary and indispensable obligation than any positive precepts of revealed religion.”

On the contrary, the precepts of revealed religion, as they are of far greater and higher authority than our own mere natural notions, so are they the surest indication of what was the first and original, pure and uncorrupted dictates of our nature.

I have here only mentioned these short passages out of some of Dr. T.'s Sermons, to shew his plain and downright Hobbism; upon which I could enlarge, and shew you the same thread to run through all his works: but this I intend for a task by itself, my present work being his Socinianism. And I think it an indispensable duty to warn the world, especially this poor kingdom, of this man's diabolical principles, because he is got now into so high a sphere, as to be able to do much mischief among the clergy, by preferring those of his own princi-



ples, the latitudinarians; and by this means he may bid fair to pervert the whole nation; he has deeply poisoned them already. And if this be not a time to speak, we may for ever after hold our tongue. He that would not in this case expose his life and all that he had, would never do it for any cause of Christ; for the axe was never laid more palpably at the very root of all Christianity.

I hope what I have said will at least provoke abler pens to engage in defence, not only of Christianity, but of the first principles and foundation of religion in general, which the Hobbists have depressed far below that of the heathen, who acknowledged divine revelation, though they mistook it; but these make it a perfect tool and engine of state, hung at the belt of the civil magistrate, and disposable by him at his pleasure. These are yet more dangerous, more affronting to God, than the Socinians: for the Socinians argue, though from a false topic, for the honour of God, as if more persons were dishonourable to the divine nature: but these dare blasphemously to make God an ape to the Devil himself, and to be beholding to his invention, and the capricios of foolish and wicked men, for all the institutions of his holy religion; and to have sent our Lord Christ into the world, and sacrificed him upon the cross, for no other end than to comply with the wickedness of men; and instead of *destroying the works of the Devil*, infinitely to outdo them, to put them out of countenance, and make them ashamed of their littleness, in sacrificing beasts and men, instead of which poor butcheries and murder, and to make them no more regarded. Here the Son of God shall be murdered, to shew how little mis-



chief the Devil could do in comparison of God ! and to frighten and amaze mankind, the most wicked of them, and to stop their hand from the further pursuit of their little insignificant cruelties to one another, by being struck with the horror of such super-wickedness and unnatural barbarity ; as the king of Moab sacrificed his eldest son, to stop the pursuit of his enemies, 2 Kings iii. 27, by overglutting their revenge, and outdoing their cruelty.

These are not tares sown in the night, and by stealth ; but it is rooting up all revealed religion in the noonday, and exposing of Christianity to the contempt and buffoonery of atheistical wits. And if the husbandmen take no notice of it, they are not asleep but dead. God awaken them by a timely sense of their duty, and not by a total extirpation and removal of their candlestick. Amen.



SOME  
REFLECTIONS  
UPON THE SECOND OF  
DR. BURNET'S FOUR DISCOURSES,  
CONCERNING THE  
DIVINITY AND DEATH OF CHRIST.

PRINTED 1694.

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I HAD ended the reader's labour and my own, but that I am called back by a book now lately published, licensed by this great doctor himself, Jo. Cant., to give it the greater authority, and wrote by his colleague, Dr. Burnet, now called bishop of Sarum; it is entitled, "Four Discourses delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Sarum, &c. Printed 1694."

One of these Discourses is concerning the Divinity and Death of Christ; wherein there is such a notion of Christ's divinity set down, as would make any Christian ear to tingle. He gives the very same account of it as the Brief History of the Unitarians in answer to John i. 14, *the Word was made flesh*; that is, says that Socinian author, the Word *dwelt in*, or *did inhabit* the person of Jesus Christ. There is none that is unprejudiced but must see how very far this is from the full import of that text, and what a force is done to the

words of the text, σαρκὶ ἐγένετο, *was made flesh*. This is sure a degree beyond bare *inhabitation*. It is true our soul may be said to dwell in our body; but there is something more, it is impersonated with our body; whence there arises what the schools call *communicatio idiomatum* between the soul and the body; that is, that the properties of each are attributed to the person who partakes of both. Thus man is called *mortal*, because his body is such; and *immortal*, because his soul is such. And thus it is that Christ is called *God*, in respect to his divine nature; and *man*, in respect to his human. Neither of these can be predicated of the other. The divine nature is not the human nature, nor the human nature the divine. The soul is not the body, nor the body the soul: but each of these is predicated of the person who partakes of both. All the attributes of the divine, and properties of human nature, are predicated of Christ; as all properties of soul and body are predicated, though not of one another, yet of *man*, who is made up of both.

This is the true notion of *impersonation*, and without this, Christ could never be made flesh.

The Spirit of God did inhabit or inspire the apostles, prophets, and holy men of old; and will do every saint, or holy person, to all eternity. But this does not make God to become flesh.

If you answer, that the Spirit of God, or the Word, (as the Socinians say,) did inhabit or inspire that man Jesus Christ in an higher degree than other men, that will make nothing as to the Word's becoming flesh. God was no more flesh in Abraham or St. Paul than in the meanest saint, though he inspired one much more than another.



Nothing short of impersonation could make him to become flesh, or make that flesh adorable without the highest idolatry. Dr. B. thinks to solve all this by comparing God's indwelling in Jesus to the indwelling of God in the cloud of glory in the temple; and he says, p. 127, that the Jews worshipped the cloud of glory, "because of God's resting upon it;" and therefore that they "could make no objection" to the Christians worshipping of Christ, "by virtue " of the indwelling of the eternal Word in him."

"Make no objection!" Yes, sure; and retort the argument, to the confusion of such Christians; for they did not worship the cloud of glory: that had been rank idolatry, notwithstanding of any inhabitation of God there: and therefore, from this reasoning, it must have been idolatry to have worshipped Christ, notwithstanding of any inhabitation of God in him.

Nor will it solve this, that the doctor says, p. 116, that there was a more "perfect indwelling of God " in Christ than in the cloud."

So there was in the cloud more than in the temple; yet it had been as great idolatry to have worshipped the cloud as the temple.

God's presence was never more visibly exhibited in any apparition under the law, than when he descended upon mount Horeb in fire, cloud, &c. He spoke out of that fire with an audible voice, which he did not out of the cloud of glory in the temple. And yet he strictly forbids the worshipping of any thing they there saw, or the making any resemblance or similitude of any thing that there appeared, lest it should corrupt them to idolatry, Deut. iv. 15, &c.

As before observed, the degrees of inhabitation say nothing to the making the thing inhabited to be God : no less inhabitation than an impersonation can do that, because no lesser or other sort of inhabitation does carry with it the *communicatio idiomatum*, so as to make God be called *that thing*, or *that thing* be called *God*.

And therefore it is a gross error which the doctor asserts, p. 113, “ that the indwelling of *the Jehovah* “ was, according to the scripture phrase, said to be “ *Jehovah*.”

It is so far from “ scripture phrase,” that all the holy scriptures do detest it as idolatry.

This distinction would justify the worship of the sun, as being a glorious tent or tabernacle of God. And, no doubt, God does inhabit it, as he does every creature in their several degrees ; and this will justify all the wild heathen idolatry. For higher or lower in creatures, that is, different degrees of God’s inhabitation, make no difference as to the worship of them. It is as much idolatry to worship the highest angel as the meanest worm.

Therefore the doctor’s argument is most heterodox, that the inhabitation of God in Christ makes Christ to be God ; if by inhabitation he means any thing short of impersonation. Which if he had meant, he had never thought of explaining it by the inhabitation of God in the cloud ; or thrust himself upon such a precipice of idolatry, as to aver that the cloud was Jehovah, and that they worshipped the cloud because of God’s dwelling in it.

Yet as the former doctor, who licenses what this his second has wrote, will not (as before told) stand out, or loose any thing for the word *person*—but

then you must take what he means by it; so this stickler does now and then slip it in, that he may have it to say; but will not let himself be mistaken in explaining it as above.

The design is to wear men off from this personality by degrees; never making use of the word, but some way or other to expose it, and to lead men from the true and full meaning of it, as it was necessarily used, on purpose to distinguish such direful and wasting heresies as now infest the church under much sheep's clothing.

For if God has not assumed our nature into his own person, only dwelt in Christ, as in the temple, as in the cloud, though in an higher degree, Christ cannot be our God, and we are idolaters in worshipping him, as much as the heathen in worshipping their idols from the supposed inhabitation of God in them. And God has not taken upon him our nature, more than the nature of angels, (as the apostle argues, Heb. ii. 16;) nay, God dwells more visibly with his angels, or inhabits them more fully and intimately, than mankind. Therefore God's dwelling in a man does no more make him God, than God's dwelling in the angels of his presence makes all them to be God. If this argument hold, Lucifer was in the right when he pretended to be God; for he was the most glorious angel, and consequently God did dwell in him in an higher degree than in other angels.

This example shews that no degrees of inhabitation give any title to divine honour.

What then has mankind gained by God's inhabitation in the human nature of Jesus Christ, if that be all? What is that to other men? What better



am I for that, than for his inhabitation in the human nature of Moses, or even in the dead walls of the temple?

O yes, says the doctor, p. 120, “the great God is “also our federal God, or Jehovah, by his dwelling “in the human nature of Jesus Christ.”

Was he not Jehovah likewise, or a federal God, to the Jews? and that by his dwelling in the temple, and affording his presence there? Does he not call them his federal people? *Gather my saints together unto me, those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice*, Psalm l. 5.

How is the human nature advanced beyond that of angels? or, as it is expressed in St. Athanasius’s Creed, how is the “manhood taken into God,” if there be no more than a bare inhabitation of God in the flesh? “Christ is our Lord,” says the doctor, (ibid. p. 120.) “not by an assumption into an high “dignity, or the communicating divine honour to “him, but as the eternal Word dwelt bodily in “him.”

Well then, doctor, you say that the indwelling of the eternal Word did not communicate divine honour to Christ. How then, I pray you, is he adorable? How is he God by nature? since (as you quote it in the next page, 121.) it is the definition which St. Paul gives of heathenish idolatry, Gal. iv. 8, to worship those who by nature are not gods. And you yourself, p. 110, give this description of idolatry, that is, “either the worshipping of other “gods besides the true, or the worshipping the true “God under a bodily representation.”

Now you confess that the eternal Word dwelt bodily in Christ Jesus, which, I suppose, you will



not say of his dwelling in the temple, or in any other holy man: and therefore to worship God only in Christ (which you would be at) is the worshipping of God under a bodily representation, more than worshipping him in the sun, or in any image, because he is not so bodily represented in them, or in any thing else, as in the human nature of Jesus Christ. I say the worshipping of Christ must, by this rule, be the most direct idolatry, if we suppose no more than an indwelling of the divinity in him, and not that his human nature was exalted, and even impersonated with the divine nature; whereby he was as truly and really (that is, naturally) God as he was man.

But rather than let Christ be a divine person, the doctor would be content to loose his own personality, and confound the very notion of subsistence or personality, at least betwixt flesh and spirit, which he takes upon him to explain in a new and extraordinary manner, for several pages together. At last he comes to this, p. 106; "These are all the ways," says he, "that we can apprehend of a mind's assuming matter, and being united to it, which is the having it under its actuation or authority, so that the acts of the mind give such impressions to the body as govern and command it."

This description would impersonate all the angels, which have appeared in bodies, with that matter which they assumed; for there is no doubt but they did perfectly well command and govern those bodies; better much than we can do ours; made them fly and mount as they pleased.

And upon this account the eternal Word was often impersonated with matter, before his being

made flesh in the womb of the blessed Virgin, if we believe, as it is generally believed, that it was he who appeared to Moses in the bush ; to Joshua, as the Captain of the Lord's host ; to Abraham, in the form of an angel, &c.

But all this was not assuming any of these forms, in which he appeared, into his own person ; for then would have followed the *communicatio idiomatum* ; such fire or body in which he appeared would have been truly and really God, and God would have been that fire or that body ; which as it is blasphemy to affirm, so this shews us a stricter notion of impersonation than the doctor sets up, which is only the mind's commanding and governing of matter. In which sense God must be impersonated with every body in the world ; for he commands and governs them absolutely, and he inhabits and dwells in every one of them, for *in him they have their being*.

The doctor, in his Vindictory Letter to Dr. Williams, before quoted, p. 99, adds further, " that this " indwelling is a *vital* one, like that of the soul's " dwelling in the body ; and not an *assisting* one, " like inspiration, or the gift of tongues or miracles."

But this will not hinder the consequence above told ; for in God *we live and move*, as well as *have our being* in him, Acts xvii. 28 : therefore there may be even a *vital* indwelling, and yet short of impersonation.

He says that this indwelling of the Word in Christ is "*like* that of the soul's dwelling in the body."

It may be *like* it, but not of the same sort ; " Every *like*," we say, " is not the same."

He says above, in the same page, "that the union  
" of the divine and human nature in Christ is re-  
" presented in scripture as the compounding one  
" person, as much as in other men the union of soul  
" and body makes one man."

This indeed is fairly said, if it be as sincerely intended.

For, if this be so, there must follow the *communicatio idiomatum* betwixt the divine and human natures in Christ, as much as betwixt the soul and body of man; which the doctor will not allow: for if he allowed this, there could be no cause of dispute. And if he had thought thus, he could never have explained it by the indwelling of God in the cloud; nor found any scruple against the word *person*; nor have been forced to new and uncouth expositions of personality; nor would he have made a distinction (as before told) betwixt the manhood of Christ, or the man Christ, being advanced into God, (as the Athanasian Creed expresses it,) or the "communicating divine honour to him," (as Dr. Burnet words it, p. 120 of his Discourse above quoted :) I say, if he had really and truly believed the impersonation of the divine and human nature in Christ, as the soul and body are impersonated in man, as he would seem to speak in his Vindication, he could not have made a distinction between Christ's "assumption into an high dignity, or the "communicating divine honour to him, and betwixt "the dwelling of the eternal Word bodily in him."

For if by *bodily* here he had meant a bodily impersonation, as betwixt *man's* soul and body, then that man *Christ* had not only divine honour communicated to him (which the doctor denies) by the



indwelling of the Word, but he himself was the Word. But the doctor's true meaning is, that the bodily dwelling of the Word in the man Christ was only a dwelling in his body, without impersonation, or communicating his divine attributes to him; and therefore that no divine honour was thereby communicated to him, which the doctor asserts, as above quoted, in p. 120 of his Discourse. And instead of correcting this in his Vindication, he reasserts it more positively in another, as he thinks, more odious form of words: for there, p. 96, he puts the case of a man's being made a God, and "that was so called, and was to be worshipped as such." And this he calls "a new doctrine, that it seems," says he, "scarce conceivable how any one can entertain this, and yet retain any value for religion: I must confess," says he, "I cannot; and it is so natural for a man to judge of others by himself, that I do not think others do it, or indeed can do it." These are his words: and by this it is very plain that he does not think the man Christ to be God, or that Christ is God and man, but only God in man; and consequently that there is no hypostatical, that is, personal union betwixt the divine and human nature of Christ, as there is betwixt the soul and body in man; for if there were, then the *communicatio idiomatum* must necessarily follow; that is, the properties or attributes of each of their natures would belong to the person who did partake of both: and the man Christ would be as truly God as he was man.

And as for the doctor's bugbear word, of a man's being made God, with which he thinks to frighten us, as if God could be made; let him know that



there are none so absurd as to think that God can be made, and that this is not the same thing as a man's being made God, because, though the God-head cannot be made, and in that sense nothing can be made God, yet a man, by being taken into a personal union with God, becomes really God, as much as the body becomes a man by its personal union with an human soul: notwithstanding of which union, the two different natures of body and soul remain nothing the less distinct and unconfounded in themselves, and in their several properties; incommunicable to each other, though all equally predicated of the same person who partakes of both natures.

And therefore Dr. Burnet, by this phrase in this place, does plainly declare against the divinity of Christ, and that he neither does nor can believe it; nay, he ridicules it, and blasphemes it, in setting up the notion of "a man that was made a God."

And though, as he says, p. 99, "the union of the "divine and human nature in Christ is represented "in scripture as the compounding one person, as "much as in other men the union of soul and body "makes one man," he must mean by this only that this was a comparison or representation used in scripture, whereby the dwelling of the Word in Christ was in some manner shadowed out or represented, not that it was strictly so: for if he had thought it strictly so, that the divine and human natures in Christ were as much impersonated as soul and body in other men, he would never have made it an absurdity that a man was made God, more than that the matter of a man's body is made a man, or part of the person of a man.

He could never have stumbled upon such broad blasphemy as to say, that no divine honour was communicated to Christ, and that he “was not our Lord by an assumption into an high dignity,” as before quoted.

Hence we must learn how to understand many of his plausible sayings; as thus, p. 127 of his Discourse, where, having explained *personality*, as above told, to mean no more than a power in the soul to command and govern the body, he brings in a plausible sentence for the personal union of the divine and human natures in Christ, but yet with a salvo to secure his secret meaning.

“So that upon these reasons,” says he, (and not otherwise,) “we may well and safely determine that Christ is truly God and man; and that the Godhead did as really dwell in his human nature, and became united to it, as our souls dwell in our bodies, and are united to them.”

This sounds very orthodox: but it is all to be understood only “upon these reasons;” that is, which dwindle down personality only to a power to command and govern: and by “Christ is God and man,” he means no more than that God dwelt in that man Christ; and so he was both God and man; but not that they were one person, any otherwise than as God did command, govern, or enliven that man, (as he does all men.)

“Christ was truly God;” that is, as the cloud was Jehovah, which the doctor asserts in this same page, and is one of the premises from whence he draws this conclusion.

2. The Godhead dwelt in Christ, and was united to him, as our souls dwell in our bodies, and are

united to them; that is, as the doctor has explained it, only to command and govern them.

Thus you see what true pains is taken by these two great doctors to elude and totally to enervate the whole Christian doctrine, and all the terms wherein, for suppression of heresies, it has been conceived and delivered down to us from Christ and his apostles through all ages of the catholic church.

If it be not so, why are not they content to set down their faith in the plain terms used by the church? Why all these new and laborious expositions? Why do they thus entangle and perplex? Why can they not say three *persons* in the Trinity, as well as three *differences*, three *somewhats*? Why do they confound us, as this doctor, p. 96, with the difference betwixt *distinct* and *distinction*? viz. that by *person*, in the Trinity, we must not mean “a complete intelligent being *distinct* from every other being; but only that every one of that blessed Three has a peculiar *distinction* in himself, by which he is truly *different* from the other two.”

*Different*, but not *distinct*! not *distinct*, but that has a *distinction*!

What is the meaning of this? what is the quarrel at the word *person*? O that these doctors would speak out! that they would go fair over to the Socinian side! Or do they stay, that they may more effectually undermine the Christian doctrine, by distinguishing and accommodating all to the Socinian hypothesis, and by this means draw men insensibly into it? Therefore we must deal plainly with them, and tell (because they will not) what they would be



at ; which is, to make the three *persons* of God only three *manifestations* of God ; or, the same person of God considered under three different qualifications and respects, as our *Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier*. But we must ask, if it was only a manifestation that was made flesh ? if we are baptized into the faith and worship of a manifestation ? why but two or three manifestations of God, are there not hundreds ? is God, or the first person, one of his own manifestations ? why then is he reckoned as one of the three ? are these three all one and the same person ? Is this then the meaning of Matt. xii. 32, that *whosoever speaketh against one of these One shall be forgiven ; but whosoever speaketh against another of the same One shall not be forgiven ?* that we are baptized *in the name of the Father, and of the Son*, (who is the same person with the Father,) *and of the Holy Ghost*, (who is the same person with them both ;) or in the name of *the Father*, and of *himself*, and of *himself* !

This is the plain, easy, and intelligible Socinian system of divinity ! this is the rational account of their faith !

And this (doctors both) you must stick to, or give us leave to use the word *person* in the already known and received notion of that term, and as the holy catholic church hath always understood it in expressing the glorious Trinity of God.

Dr. B. concludes this point with referring to the four abovesaid Sermons of Dr. T., and clawing him for the grace of this imprimatur, by giving his judgment of that work, as performed with great “ strength and clearness of reason,” p. 128.

Thus these two pillars stand bound jointly and



severally for one another's ingenuity and performances.

And that they may keep even pace, Dr. B. now passes on to the other great point of Socinianism, the sacrifice and death of Christ, p. 134, wherein he copies after, and comes up to, the full of that diabolical heresy so barefaced set up by Dr. T. against the satisfaction of Christ, which is the only foundation for the remission of sin. He first, p. 134, endeavours to remove the great groundwork of any satisfaction being due to God's justice for sin, by advancing that notion of justice which Dr. T. does in his Sermon of hell. He calls it only a right of punishing which is "vested in himself," and therefore "which he may either use or not use "at his pleasure." Upon this is grounded the precariousness of hell, that God not being obliged in his justice to inflict hell, notwithstanding of his threatening it, it is not certain whether he will do it or not.

Dr. B. says that this justice is a right "vested in "God himself;" and which therefore, he argues, God may dispense with at his pleasure. So far he argues truly, that God is not, nor can be, accountable to any other; and therefore, in this sense, he may do, in every thing, as he pleases; that is, as to any outward compulsion, or giving an account of his actions to any whatsoever.

But, on the other hand, God is, as I may so say, tied up to his own inherent rectitude, and all the perfections of his nature. It is not being tied up, as any way limited; it is the highest and most absolute liberty, that he can never be otherwise. If

he could lose his liberty, he would not be so free. Thus God cannot die, cannot cease to be God, cannot make himself not to be eternal, infinite, &c. And that he cannot depart from any of his attributes (notwithstanding the sound of the word *cannot*) is no stinting of his prerogative, but the height of it.

Now justice is as much an attribute of God as his mercy. He is not only just, that is, has justice, or a great deal of justice, in him, but he is justice itself, justice in the abstract: justice is of the nature of God; and therefore he can no more depart from it than from himself. The highest notion of justice, as of love or goodness, that is God, it is the very nature of God; *God is love*, 1 John iv. 8; God is likewise *justice*. And as all the love or goodness in us is but a participation of the infinite and eternal goodness; so all the justice, all the notion we have of right or wrong, is but a ray sent down to us from the eternal and essential rectitude and justice which is God. Now here is the difference betwixt God and us: we have a mixture of justice and of mercy in us; and sometimes we exert an act of justice, and sometimes of our mercy: justice has the ascendant in some over mercy; and in others, mercy has it over justice.

Therefore if a man remits without satisfaction, we say not that it is unjust in him, because he then exerts an act of mercy only; but none say that this proceeds from his justice. To forgive is no part of justice, that is altogether mercy; justice will exact to the uttermost farthing. Justice *must* do it, it were not otherwise justice.

And if justice cannot do it, God cannot do it; for God is *justice*; and therefore whatever is essential to justice must be so to God.

Mercy and justice do not thwart or overcome one another in God, as in man; because each is infinite in God.

If you cannot apprehend how infinite justice and mercy can stand together, behold, in the wonderful redemption of man, justice requires full satisfaction, and mercy finds it: and thus the attributes of God exalt and magnify one another; one raises the other to the height, and each exert themselves to the utmost, that is, infinitely.

But Dr. B. says, *ibid.* p. 135, "that the scripture sets none of these speculations before us." What! does not the scripture tell us that God is just? and these speculations are but necessary inferences from the nature of justice.

But even as to the exactness of God's justice. Does the scripture say nothing to give us a true and high idea of it? God's justice is there represented as exacting *the uttermost farthing*; (what *Matt. v. 26.* stricter notion of justice?) as *consuming fire*; *burn-* *Deut. iv. 24.* *ing jealousy*; *that will by no means clear the guilty*; *Exod.* *of purer eyes than to behold evil*; *that cannot look* *xxxiv. 7.* *on iniquity*; who will take an account of *every idle* *Heb. i. 13.* *word*; *a worm that never dies, and a fire that never* *36.* *shall be quenched.* *Mark ix.* Whatever Dr. T. and his bro- *43, 44.* ther B. have laboured to the contrary, to persuade the world, in the words of the first deceiver, that though ye sin, yet *ye shall not surely die*, Gen. iii. 4, notwithstanding that the scripture has said so in plain terms; that the fire of hell, that is, of God's justice, is everlasting, shall never be quenched: yet



these doctors would have you venture against all this a pretty distinction they have found out, (of which the holy scriptures are totally silent,) that *remunerative*, but not *punishing*, justice is essential to God, which is the groundwork of Dr. T.'s Sermon against the truth of hell's eternity; and repeated here by Dr. B., p. 135; and yet in the very same breath he pretends to answer all the arguments brought from God's justice, by saying, "that the scripture sets none of these speculations before us;" whereas Dr. T. does plainly confess, in his abovesaid Sermon of hell, that there is no ground or light in the world so much as to be expected from the scripture, to support his hypothesis of the no-certainty of hell; and he gives a reason for it; because, says he, less than the threatening eternal punishment was not sufficient to deter men from sin; and therefore, that in the same revelation which told us of the eternity of hell, it was not to be expected that we should find any thing which should give the least umbrage to the contrary. This is very subtle! but then it would be inquired, how these doctors came by it, since they confess there is not the least footstep to be found of it in scripture. Dr. T., in the aforesaid Sermon, does allow, for the above reason, that God did, by his wording of the scriptures, design that men should believe the eternity of hell, without which the threatening of it had been to no effect. It seems then that God could not keep it from these doctors! But if they were either too wise for God's design, or could not be imposed upon by God, like other men; or that God did, by a particular revelation, discover the mighty secret to these men; sure it was



not with a design that all the world should know it; for, as the doctor says, the contrivance of concealing it in scripture was on purpose, lest mankind should know it, or have the least suspicion of it; but that they should believe the eternity of hell, to keep them to their duty: I say, if these doctors were so perfect as not to need such an awe upon them, and that therefore God had opened their eyes, why would they blab this, and spoil God's design upon other men? I dare say he will tell them no more secrets for this trick.

It terrifies me, while I must expose the wicked presumption of these blasphemers; who, when God has said plainly that hell is eternal, and Christ has assured us, as a true doctor and teacher of his church, that the fire shall never be quenched, would persuade us to believe them contrary to all this; whereby they plainly insinuate, that they are wiser than God, or design better for mankind, in revealing to us what they confess God would have kept secret.

And, to carry on the argument of their folly, that they should object against the Christian doctrine, that, as they say, it is not told plain enough in scripture, when they confess their own to have no foundation at all in scripture. They think they have a right to call God to an account for his remunerating justice, to perform his promises to them; and that this is essential to his very nature: but not so of his punishing justice; they will not have that to belong at all to the nature of justice, though they can give no other reason than their not desiring it. For I am confident there is hardly a man in the world but thinks that punishing, as well as

rewarding, does belong to the nature of justice. It is a principle as self-evident, and rooted in the first notions of men, as any whatsoever that can be named. So that these doctors will find *reason* as much their enemy as *revelation*; and it is a just judgment, that those who presumptuously go against the latter, should discover their extreme folly in the other, wherein they boast themselves.

And this they do, with all their Socinian brethren, in most palpable manner, by the account they give of the death of Christ. For upon their ground of the no-necessity to satisfy God's justice for sin, they cannot find out any reason why he should die; sometime they say, to confirm the truth of his doctrine. But that does not confirm it, or say any more than that he was fully persuaded of it himself; for men have died for errors. And Christ vouched his miracles, not his death, to confirm the truth of his doctrine.

At other times they say it was only to shew God's abhorrence to sin. How? to excuse the guilty, and punish the innocent! this, upon their way of reasoning, shews rather God's acceptance of sin, and abhorring of innocence. Were it not more reasonable what Solomon says, Prov. xxi. 18, that *the wicked should be a ransom for the righteous, and the transgressors for the upright?* or, as he otherwise words it, chap. xi. 8, *The righteous is delivered out of trouble, and the wicked cometh in his stead.* Is not this more justice, than that the righteous should be punished in the stead of the wicked? It cannot stand with justice any other way than upon the doctrine of satisfaction, nor can the death of Christ be otherwise rationally accounted for.

In short, the Socinians can find no reason for it that has the least pretence; and therefore they settle here, as I have shewn above, that God made a covenant with Christ, (though for what reason they do not know,) to remit the sins of the penitent, if he would suffer himself to be murdered by those whose sins were to be remitted by virtue of that murder. They say there was no need for any such covenant; for that God might have remitted sins without it, or without any covenant, or upon any sort of covenant: for, as Dr. B. says, p. 151, “it is “the appointment and the acceptation that makes “the satisfaction.”

But then, if the appointment and acceptation of the sacrifice of a bullock could have made satisfaction, what need was there for Christ being sacrificed? Why, no need at all, say our doctors, that we can tell; but we find in scripture oft mention of God's covenant in Christ, and we suppose this to be it.

But the scripture gives a quite different account of it, viz. that in order to remission there was a *necessity* for Christ's suffering: Luke xxiv. 46, that *it behoved him to suffer*; because *it was not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins*, Heb. x. 4: chap. vii. 18, that there was a *disannulling of the legal commandments* and institution, not for want of appointment, (for they were appointed,) but *for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof*: here respect is had to the nature of the means, and not only to the appointment: Rom. viii. 3, *For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, con-*



*demns sin in the flesh : Gal. iii. 21, For if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law : for if righteousness came by the law, then Christ is dead in vain, chap. ii. 21. And in vain did he die, for all the account these men give of it, or can give, upon these Socinian principles which they maintain.*

And they bewray their errors to that degree, that sometime they fall foul upon God's justice, for suffering Christ, an innocent person, to die. Thus Dr. B., p. 148, says that Christ had "nothing to fear from a just and good God." Why? because he was "conscious to himself of no sin. And therefore," he says, "he cannot apprehend what could have raised such amazing sorrows in so pure and unspotted a soul, that was conscious to itself of no sin, and so could fear nothing from a just and good God; and therefore," says he, "we must not pretend to explain what we cannot understand." But if he could have understood Christ then laying under the weight of all the sins of the world, which he had undertaken, as our surety, to answer for, and satisfy the utmost demand of God's justice for them, he would have found the reason of that unexpressible agony of Christ our Redeemer, who had an adequate notion of the infinite demerit of sin, and what was due to it; and had taken it all upon himself, and was to present to God a sense and a sorrow for it fully proportionable to the whole offence, which all the damned in hell can never do, no, nor all creatures; for they are not all able to comprehend the full heinousness and obliquity of an offence against an infinite Being. And when we conceive such an infinite sorrow lodged in the soul



of Christ, and so strong a sense of the hatefulness of sin, and its monstrous deformity, and of the full wrath of God which lay upon that accursed or devoted head who was to answer for it, Gal. iii. 13; such a sense, I say, and a sorrow, (which is always proportionable to the sense we have of the sin,) as all the capacities of all creatures to eternity were not large enough to contain: when we conceive Christ our Saviour under such a sorrow and apprehension as this, we cannot wonder at his so terrible an agony.

But, indeed, without this consideration of Christ's satisfying the justice of God for our sins, there can be no account given of his agony. It is altogether unintelligible, as Dr. B. says: for he had no sin of his own to answer for; and unless we suppose that he took our sin upon himself, he had "nothing" (according to Dr. B.) "to fear from a just God." And Dr. B., denying the necessity of any satisfaction to be made to justice, and consequently thinking that Christ did not make any satisfaction, or that our sins were laid upon him; consequently must think, that as Christ had nothing to fear from a just God, so that God was not just in inflicting death upon Christ; else Christ had something to fear from a just God.

Dr. T. likewise runs into the same strain in his Sermon before spoke of, concerning the Sacrifice and Satisfaction of Christ, wondering at the great severity shewed to Christ; he says, p. 34, that God seemed, in that, to have gone "almost further than" "goodness and justice could well admit; to afflict" "innocency itself, to save the guilty." And "that" "it looked almost like hatred of *innocency* and

“his only Son.” Now to *almost* or doubt of God’s *justice* or *goodness* is next door, if not the same, as denying it. Because God is a necessary Being; if this Being, or if any attribute he had, were doubtful, he could not be God: therefore to doubt of God, or of any of his attributes, is *almost* and *altogether* not to believe a God.

To such straits are these men driven, who would give an account of the sacrifice and death of Christ without the doctrine of satisfaction. I will end this Discourse with shewing that the doctrine of satisfaction, as I have set it down, is strictly pursuant to the doctrine of the church of England, and consequently that these doctors T. and B. have apostatized from that church, and from that very doctrine which they once professed: therefore my proof shall be out of the Common Prayer Book and the Homilies.

And first for the Common Prayer Book, in the prayer of consecration of the elements of the Lord’s supper, it is said, that Christ made, upon the cross, “a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and “*satisfaction* for the sins of the whole world.”

And in the First Homily for Good-Friday it is expressly said, that “without payment (of our debt “by sin), God the Father could never be at one “with us.” And through all that and the following Homily it is insisted on, as necessary to the pardon of sin, that Christ himself should come down from heaven, be incarnate, and die; and that no prophet or angel, or less than the eternal Son of God, could have wrought our deliverance. And this is agreeable to the scripture language, as before told, that *Christ* ought to have suffered; that it

behoved *him to suffer*, Luke xxiv. 26, 46; *that thus it must be*, Matt. xxvi. 54; ver. 39, that it was not *possible* the cup should pass from him, if he would complete the redemption of man.

In the Homily of the Salvation of Mankind, &c. you have these words: "God sent his Son—to fulfil  
" the law for us, and by shedding his most precious  
" blood, to make a sacrifice and *satisfaction*, or (as  
" it may be called) *amends* to his Father for our  
" sins—And whereas it lay not in us to do that, he  
" provided a ransom for us—And so the justice of  
" God and his mercy did embrace together, and ful-  
" filled the mystery of our redemption." He would  
not "by his mercy deliver us clearly, without jus-  
" tice, or payment of a just ransom; but with his  
" endless mercy he joined his most upright and  
" equal justice—Upon God's part, his great mercy  
" and grace; upon Christ's part, justice, that is, the  
" *satisfaction* of God's justice—so that in our justi-  
" fication there is not only God's mercy and grace,  
" but also his justice—the grace of God doth not  
" shut out the justice of God in our justification"—  
And "whereas all the world was not able of them-  
" selves to pay any part toward their ransom, it  
" pleased our heavenly Father of his infinite mercy,  
" without any of our desert or deserving, to prepare  
" for us the most precious jewels of Christ's body  
" and blood, whereby our ransom might be fully  
" paid, the law fulfilled, and his justice fully satis-  
" fied—This faith the holy scripture teaches us is  
" the strong rock and foundation of Christian reli-  
" gion. This doctrine all old and ancient authors  
" of Christ's church do approve; this doctrine ad-  
" vanceth and setteth forth the true glory of Christ,



“and beateth down the vainglory of man; this  
“whosoever denies, is not to be accounted for a  
“Christian man—but for an adversary to Christ  
“and his gospel.”

Yet these adversaries *roar in the midst of our congregations, and set up their banners for tokens.* O God, in what a condition is this poor church, these miserable, misled people of England, when such doctrine is taught from the throne of Canterbury! when addresses are made to the clergy by their bishops, publicly and in print, to teach and propagate these damnable heresies! when these men are made primates and bishops of our church, whom our Homilies think not fit to be accounted as Christian men, but adversaries to Christ and his gospel! *The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint!* It is for the sins of these nations that such priests are sent to them, according to the words of the prophet, Hos. iv. 9, *There shall be, like people, like priest:* chap. ix. 7, *The prophet is a fool, the spiritual man is mad, for the multitude of thine iniquity, and the great hatred:* ver. 8, *The prophet is a snare of a fowler in all his ways, and hatred in the house of his God:* Jer. xxiii. 9, *My heart within me is broken because of the prophets; all my bones shake:* ver. 10, *For the land is full of adulteries; for because of swearing the land mourneth—their cause is evil, and their force is not right:* chap. v. 30, 31, *A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so: and what will ye do in the end thereof?*



## POSTSCRIPT.

I AM the more encouraged in what I have here undertaken, that Dr. Sherlock, who formerly was so rankly Socinian as to the doctrine of satisfaction, not only to blaspheme but ridicule it, as Dr. S. has severely shewn from his book of the Knowledge of Christ, has now at last come off from these two doctors, and disputed expressly against them upon this point, and answered their arguments against the doctrine of satisfaction, in his Sermon preached at Whitehall last Trinity Sunday, 1694; which it is much desired that he would publish, though he could get no license from Lambeth. It gave great satisfaction to many of his auditors, from some of whom I had a very good account of it; particularly in answer to Dr. T.'s main, and, he thinks, unanswerable objection, where he "dares any man to say "that God could not save man otherwise than by "the death or satisfaction of Christ." To which Dr. Sherlock replied, (as it was represented to me,) that if this was understood of any compulsion from without, God could not be compelled or obliged in any case; but if the necessity proceeded from what is internal, and consequently eternal, in God, that is his justice, it was no imperfection to suppose such a necessity in God of requiring satisfaction, &c. But I will not anticipate nor prejudice the doctor; we desire it in his own words.



A SUPPLEMENT,  
UPON OCCASION OF  
A HISTORY OF RELIGION

LATELY PUBLISHED,

*Supposed to be wrote by Sir R. H—d.*

Wherein likewise Charles Blount's Great Diana is considered ;  
and both compared with Dr. Tillotson's Sermons.

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READER,

THIS comes to you upon occasion of a book published this year, 1694, since the foregoing Observations were wrote. It is called, A History of Religion, and gives a like account of religion as what I have already told out of Dr. Till., but in somewhat another form ; and it quotes him with great applause in the preface, as the true pattern of orthodox divinity ; that is, such principles as he there sets forth ; and so much in the doctor's style and air, that if he be not the author, it comes from some of his disciples, that have copied after him very exactly.

He ridicules all revealed religion, and turns it into what he calls priestcraft : this was but borrowed from a work of that execrable Charles Blount, one of the atheistical club, and very intimate with Dr. Tillotson. It was printed in London, anno 1680, and is entitled, “ *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* ;

“ or, The Original of Idolatry, together with the  
“ Politic Institution of the Gentiles’ Sacrifices.”

The design and whole import of that book is, under the name of the Gentile sacrifices and religion, to blaspheme, and, like a mad dog, to curse and reproach the whole institution of God, as well under the Law as the Gospel. And he builds upon the very same foundation as Dr. Till. in the Sermons above quoted, of sacrifices, and all the other institutions of revealed religion, being merely an invention of men; though he does not go the length of his master, Dr. Till., to make the sacrifice of Christ, and other institutions of the Christian religion, to be only a compliance with the wicked and diabolical fancies of men, in their bloody sacrifices of beasts and humankind, &c.

But that you may see the thread and progress of this horrid mystery of iniquity, (the like sure never known or tolerated in any Christian country,) let me give you a short view of this book of Blount’s; then I will shew how this new History of Religion agrees with it, or was taken out of it; and how exactly both do square with Dr. T.’s notions and scheme of religion, which I have laid down in the Discourse going before.

First, Blount makes it known, that there are no martyrs in their religion; for he tells you, sect. 11. p. 23, that “ they are too wise to hazard their own  
“ ruin for the instruction of foolish men—knowing  
“ that if any man should be so vain as to oppose  
“ the common belief, the *mobile* would (as they did  
“ to Socrates) oppress and decry him for an atheist;  
“ therefore the wisest among the heathens followed  
“ this rule in their converse; *Loquendum cum vulgo*,



*“ sentiendum cum sapientibus ; si mundus vult decipi, decipiatur.”*

And in the next words he blasphemously brings in our Saviour as observing the same poor and wicked craft ; and that this was his reason for speaking to the people in parables.

He instances almost in every circumstance of our Saviour's life and death, his miracles and proofs of his divinity, by telling over the story in something that he finds or makes like it among the heathens, and for which he gives all the ill names can be to the heathen worship, as being contradictory to reason, with a *but* the Christian religion is not so, when he has made them the very same, and no more grounds for believing the one than the other ; and that so plainly, that none who have but half an eye can help seeing that the whole is meant to ridicule and blaspheme the Christian religion, in this most malicious and provoking manner. P. 39, he thus ridicules our commemoration of Christ in the blessed sacrament ; “ At all entertainments,” says he, “ the company are apt to drink the founder's “ health.”

The whole book, from beginning to ending, is of the same strain, that I must transcribe it all, if I should undertake to set down all his blasphemies and profaneness. And I am very glad to be released from the repetition of such wickedness as curdles my blood and shakes all my frame ; and the less that others hear of it the better. Would God it had never been heard or wrote, that there might have been no necessity of ever mentioning of it.

Having thus made Christ himself to be Beelzebub, the great Deceiver, you cannot expect he should

treat his church and servants better than their Master. And indeed he deals more roundly with them ; he spares not to name them plainly and above-board ; by which he puts it out of doubt that it was the Christian religion which he battles through all this book. Sect. 18, telling one of the politic ends of the institution of sanguinary sacrifices, to be the inuring people to war and blood ; “ but,” says he, p. 45, “ the primitive church did prohibit the Christians such bloody sights ; they chose another way, “ i. e. to govern in the spirit of meekness and innocence, hoping thereby to gain a greater submission.”

So that ambition was the whole end of all that meekness and innocency which is taught in the Christian religion ; “ hoping thereby to gain a greater submission !” And this he means against Christ himself, though here he only names the primitive church : for Christ first taught that meekness and innocency which they afterwards preached ; and he was the head of the church, whom this black infidel traduces ; and he downright names the Christians, that you may know against whom he writes : and that not only these later corrupted times, but the primitive church, in which the times of Christ and the apostles are included : and it is of these, and all other Christian priests, that he means what he says in the same page, under his cobweb veil of the heathen priests, who were certainly, says he, the wickedest and the craftiest of men. You must know he never conversed with any in his life, except Dr. Tillotson, (because he was a politician,) and those of his recommendation.

Sect. 10. p. 22, he argues against future punish-

ments, (but not rewards,) at least the eternity of them ; (exact Dr. Tillotson's notion in his Sermon of hell, before spoke of;) and disputes (as Dr. T. does) as if they were inconsistent with the goodness of God ; and from their invisibility deduces their uncertainty : he makes them nothing else but the invention of government to keep their subjects in awe : which Dr. Tillotson words, (in the said Sermon of hell,) that God is under no other obligation to justice (or the proportioning the punishment to the crime) than so far as it may tend to secure his government. Nay, he says, that to proportion the punishment to the crime does not belong to justice at all, but is only a consideration of politics to secure government.

Thus while these bold miscreants are straining their wit to turn all revealed religion into priestcraft, they have reduced the whole notion of justice (which is God, who is justice in the abstract) into nothing else but a piece of state craft !

And have, in all their lewd harangues, but copied after the old Roman atheists : *Primos in orbe Deos timor fecit*. Which Blount repeats in the same page above quoted, in these words, *animo tortore flagellum*. And having made the belief of eternal punishments to be contrary to the goodness of God, and so irrational, and altogether precarious, as being invisible and imperceptible by any natural means, he then, in his method above told, lays the absurdity upon the belief of the Stygian lake. But, "so rational," says he, thrusting out his tongue, "and so natural is that article of our Christian faith !"

In like manner he deals with the institution of sacrifices : sect. 7. p. 15. which *superstition* (as he



calls it) “suffers neither God nor man to live at rest, “as evidently appears by these heathen sacrifices.” But instead of reproving them for that wherein only they were faulty, so far as they were aberrations from the divine institution, and were offered to devils, and not to God; I say, instead of this, he vents such reasons against them, as equally involve the sacrifices of the Jews, which were made to God, and by him commanded, and consequently the sacrifice of Christ our Lord. This wild beast’s reasons against sacrifices are in the words immediately following those above quoted, viz. “What could be “more sottish and irrational than to think that the “slaughter of a poor innocent creature (who followed the simplicity of his own nature, without “ever offending God) should be so grateful to the “Deity, as thereby we might expiate our sins, and “render a sufficient atonement for the most execrable villainies of mankind? As if the Almighty “justice could be no otherwise appeased for the “errors of the wicked, but by the sufferings of the “innocent.” [This I desire his tutor Dr. T. to answer, upon his scheme of no satisfaction being due to the justice of God for our sins: but Blount goes on.] “Now as sacrifices were the most ancient and “universal, so the greatest and most mysterious “fourbes that ever were invented or imposed upon “mankind. What have sacrifices to do with sins? “Could none but their enlightened priests make “peace between God and man, when sins were committed?” Thus Blount. And in what follows, he tells you what he would be at; that is, to throw off all outward ordinances, sacrifices, sacraments, &c. and resolve all to inward repentance: which is the



very notion of the Quakers, whither his great wit has carried him.

Now I will shew you how he agrees with his tutor in all this. I will set down their words over-against one another.

“As if,” says Blount, as above quoted, “the almighty justice could be no otherwise appeased for the errors of the wicked, but by the sufferings of the innocent.”

“In this dispensation,” says Tillotson, as before quoted, in his Sermon of the sacrifice and satisfaction of Christ, p. 34, “of God’s grace and mercy to mankind by the death of his Son, God seems to have gone to the very extremity of things, and almost further than goodness and justice will well admit; to afflict innocency itself, to save the guilty: it looks almost like hatred of innocency and his own Son.”

These two *almosts* are like two Greek negatives, which make an affirmative; and shew this doctor to be both almost and altogether such a Christian as his disciple Blount.

And indeed, without the doctrine of satisfaction, there can no rational account be given for the typical sacrifices before Christ came; and much less for his sacrifice, who was innocency itself. But, according to the doctrine of satisfaction, he could not otherwise have been an expiatory sacrifice for sin; and God’s mercy and his justice do equally magnify one another in this glorious and most rational dispensation. But this has been discoursed in the foregoing observations; wherein has been shewn, that Dr. Tillotson’s account of the legal sacrifices is as

atheistical and profane as this which I have quoted out of Blount.

Both of them agree that this was a trick and barbarous invention of wicked and foolish men. But Dr. T. gets, I think, beyond Blount; where he makes the Jewish religion and sacrifices (as well as the Christian) to be a compliance in God with all this barbarous wickedness. “And indeed,” says he, in the above quoted Sermon of the sacrifice and satisfaction of Christ, p. 6, “a very great part of the Jewish religion, which was instituted by God himself, seems to have been a plain condescension to the general apprehension of mankind, concerning this way of appeasing the offended Deity with sacrifices.”

This is the most irrational and blasphemous account which those who deny the satisfaction of Christ (because, as they pretend, against their reason) are forced to give of the sacrifice and death of Christ. [But I have treated largely of this elsewhere.] And while they set up for the only men of reason, they have shewn themselves utterly incapable of reason.

To think (as Blount here) that there was no other end or design in God’s institution of sacrifices, but the pleasure he took in the death of a beast! How blind and wretched is the reason of such men! how totally ignorant of the great designs of God; of the glorious and ever adorable methods of his wisdom and goodness in the redemption of lost mankind; in the satisfaction of his infinite and exact justice, together with the exaltation of equal infinite mercy! *which things the angels delight to look into*; but the wicked arrogance of poor miserable men pre-

sumes madly to blaspheme, measuring the eternal wisdom by their short plummet; void of common sense as well as modesty, or any reverence to that Being, whom in words they own to be almighty and incomprehensible!

How just is it in God to suffer these men to expose themselves most shamefully, even in the point of reason, their great Diana, wherein they so vainly magnify themselves!

Which appears very plainly, in the present case, of the account they give of the original of sacrifices, and the positive institutions of revealed religion. "Perhaps," says Blount, *ibid.* sect. 8. p. 17, "melancholy men might at first light upon this phrensy;" he means of sacrifices, (calling the institution of God, after the delirium of his own brain, *a melancholy phrensy*;) and the highest he can derive sacrifices is from the Egyptians, among whom, he says, they were first used, and from them derived to the Hebrews, (sect. 15. p. 39.) as if he had never heard, or did not believe, that Cain, Abel, and Noah sacrificed long before there were either Hebrews or Egyptians in the world. If he lay no greater stress upon the scriptures than upon other common histories, this must betray the most stupid or wilful ignorance.

There is nothing more plain than how the heathen came to the knowledge of sacrifices, viz. that Cain, though he corrupted the true religion, yet preserved the institution, and derived that worship of sacrifices to his posterities; though, in process of time, they forgot both the institution and the true ends of it; as they did of the creation of the world, or their own origination.

But they preserved, along with the sacrifices, so



much of the true import and meaning of them, and of that to which they pointed, which was the expiatory sacrifice of Christ, that they retained a traditional belief of the necessity of a vicarious suffering for sin : which was a sort of implicit and dark faith in Christ, though they knew him not, nor had any true notion of him ; as the generality of the Jews had not, no nor the apostles themselves till after the resurrection of Christ.

How far this entitled these very heathens to a degree of faith in Christ, and of salvability by it, at least till he was preached and more plainly exhibited to them, I will not now dispute. The ways of God are unsearchable, and with reverence to be adored, even where they exceed our understandings. But thus much we may conclude from hence, that the representation which I have shewn above Dr. T. has given of the heathen notion of a vicarious suffering, as a foolish and wicked notion, groundless, and of their own fancy ; and then his making this the reason and foundation of the sacrifice of Christ, as a gratification and compliance with such unreasonable and bloody notions and practices ; I say all this shews the doctor's exceeding ignorance of the true principles of Christianity, and the brutality of these his disciples and followers, who give this senseless and malicious account of the Gentile sacrifices, on purpose to wound Christianity under that cover.

And though they have no account from the heathens how their sacrifices began, yet these gentlemen are very sure they were first introduced by priestcraft.

That is the word ! and every thing must be laid



upon that : though in this they fall out among themselves, and are not constant three pages together to their own no-hypothesis. Thus, when they are angry with kings, (the malice to them and to priests commonly go together,) then idolatry and sacrifices were the invention of kings ; and priests came in but at second-hand, to keep it up and improve it : this Blount (sect. 2. p. 7.) endeavours to prove.

“ The primitive institution of idolatry,” says he, “ received its birth from princes ; at whose charge it “ was afterwards educated by ecclesiastics.” Again, (sect. 3. p. 8.) “ Idolatry (and sacrifices, which were “ the worship instituted to the idol) being thus instituted by the civil power, the ecclesiastic was left “ to build upon that foundation.”

But the *History of Religion*, p. 6, makes priests to be the first inventors ; and that kings, seeing the veneration and authority they obtained by it, became priests themselves, and joined that title to the imperial dignity ; thus Cæsar and other emperors of Rome were priests ; and among the Egyptians their kings were chosen from among the priests.

Thus they preserve to themselves a double handle, (though by this, in true reason, they lose both,) and make religion to be priestcraft or statecraft, as it serves their purpose. For these latitudinarians in religion are always the same in government.

But this *History of Religion*, being the latest effort, brings the matter closer. Blount ridicules religion in the person of the heathen : this, in the same form, exposes it in the church of Rome ; whose errors [they have given too much occasion for it] he makes use of, not to reform, but undermine Christianity itself ; and makes all to be nothing but priest-

craft, though he forgets not the heathen parallel, and to spit his venom at the Mosaical institution, when it comes in his way, to shew that he grafts upon the same stock.

Page 58, speaking of the religious institutions before Christ, he calls them “ strange and puzzling “ methods of religious ceremonies and mysteries, “ and of various rites of sacrificing, good for no- “ thing but to confound and distract the minds of “ men.”

Then coming down to Christianity, he borrows the Socinian arms against it ; and so exactly in their very words, as points to us plainly out of whose quiver this arrow came.

He sets up irreconcilable war against all mystery ; and making transubstantiation his mark, he levels directly at the Trinity, incarnation, divinity, and satisfaction of Christ, and every thing that there is the least pretence of mystery in.

And yet these gentlemen endeavour all they can at mystery, while they wound Christianity, covertly as they think, through the sides of the heathens, Jews, and Roman catholics ; but the cloven foot does plain appear, for their wit is not so great as their malice.

They confess God to be incomprehensible, and *his ways past finding out*, yet they cry out upon mystery in his religion !

There are mysteries, irreconcilable to them, in their own natures, and in the natures of every thing they see before them ; yet they would have every thing in a supernatural religion revealed from heaven to be so plain, that their reason should be able to dive to the very bottom of it : which if it were,

it would be no revelation, or perfectly to no purpose: for what needed revelation in things which are plain and obvious without it?

Physic is an art and a mystery to those who know it not; which leads only to the preservation of health in those bodies whose constitutions we know, and their original, as much as of any thing that we see or touch.

And yet we will let nothing be mysterious (that is, nothing but what every man in the world perfectly understands, with all the reasons and hidden causes of it) in the saving of a soul, whose substance, origination, constitution, operation, and every thing of it, but that we know it is, and feel it by its effects, is altogether hidden from us.

Our coming into this world is totally a mystery; no human reason can attain unto it. And must there be no mystery at all in our regeneration, and being born into the never-ending world of spirits?

Is not the other world, is not heaven a mystery to us? do we understand it perfectly? can we describe it?

And is it not reasonable, is it not necessary, that the methods of fitting us for it, and of conveying us thither, should be very mysterious to us?

If we know not the end of our journey, how do we pretend to understand every step of the way?

But let us hear this author's reason against mystery. You find it, p. 60 and 61, in the very words of the Defence of the History of the Unitarians, and other Socinian books lately printed for the instruction of this age; viz. that no revelation can be a mystery, more than a secret when it is told can be a secret still.



But these strong reasoners should know, that a mystery is not that of which we know nothing at all; but that of which we know some part, but darkly and obscurely, as in a glass, which is the comparison the apostle makes use of, 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

Thus it is we know heaven; yet it is revealed: and thus we know the Trinity, incarnation, and divinity of Christ. If they had not been revealed, we should have known nothing of them: yet we understand them not perfectly, nor can give the reason for every *modus* of them, why it is thus and thus, and the manner how; for that is not revealed: nor are our understandings capable of comprehending the whole nature of God; for nothing but infinite can comprehend infinite: and to attempt it, or go about it, and reject every thing we do not understand in it, is not only wicked and profane, but it argues the greatest weakness and folly in any man who is capable of such a thought, of any other instance that is possible to be given.

Christ says to his apostles, John xvi. 12, *He had many things to tell them, which they were not able to bear.*

*If I have told you earthly things,* (says he to Nicodemus, that is, concerning the regeneration by the Spirit of God in this life,) *and ye believe not,* (that is, cannot comprehend it, for the difficulty and mysteriousness of it,) *how shall ye believe, if I tell you of heavenly things?* John iii. 12. Will not these be much more mysterious to you?

This author would have called him a *mystery-monger*; as he does his disciples for preaching what he taught, p. 62.

He laughs at any thing that is called sublime in



religion, or above the reach of servile reason, as he thinks he rallies, p. 43. And it is a servile and poor reason indeed that can see nothing above itself; that can find nothing sublime in God, or his religion; in those infinite promises of an eternal heaven; and the wonderful methods by which he has appointed to conduct us thither, in ways suitable to his justice, which is as much himself, and as indispensable in him, as his mercy.

The truth of the matter is, these sort of gentlemen do not love to think; their wit is frothy and superficial, but will endure no test. Therefore, to save themselves further trouble, they take up with a short thought of religion; and reduce all to what they call *mortality*, (though they agree not among themselves what that is, and keep to it the least of all mankind,) which being what every man pleases to make of it, they are sure that it shall not be uneasy to them, for they keep the dispensing power in their own hands.

Whereas revealed religion puts them under discipline, and that managed by others, and sets them out of all hopes of future happiness, without conforming themselves to the rules and methods therein prescribed.

Therefore they roar against this. And because to decry religion by name is not so popular, (and their *summum bonum* being ease, they never run any hazard for their opinion,) therefore they cry out against the priests, which have the administration of religion; which is the same thing as to decry religion itself, because without priests there can be no religion. There may be a belief of those things which religion teaches, (that is, it is barely possible,

for without teachers that would soon decay;) but religion is not only a belief or a persuasion, which is sufficient indeed to entitle a man to a sect, to be an Epicurean, a Stoic, or other sect of philosophers, to which no more is required, than to be of such and such an opinion; but Christ has settled his religion not only in a sect of believers, but he has formed those believers into a society or corporation, which is called his *church*; to which he has annexed great and unconceivable privileges and promises, upon conditions therein required, and under the government and administration of the officers, the bishops, whom he has appointed in that society, with power to expel out of the society, and admit into it, according to the rules prescribed in their charter; and which when they do, pursuant to those rules, he has given his infallible promise to ratify every such sentence of theirs in heaven. But men cannot be excommunicated or hindered from an opinion; therefore religion is something more.

From hence it follows, that instead of there being no revealed religion, (as these moralists would have it,) there is nothing else religion but that which is revealed. Because my believing according to the light of my nature, which we call *morality*, does not entitle me to any privilege beyond what I have by nature, which every man has as well as I; it does not distinguish me into any distinct society from other men; puts me under no other rules, conditions, &c.

And therefore these moral-men may be any thing but a church, which is a society; and she is a society founded upon such a belief, which is called her *religion*: but such a religion or belief cannot

be merely natural, otherwise all men must have it, and consequently all men must be of that society; which destroys its being a society, because a society is a particular company of men, exclusive of others; else it is no society.

And every society must be by positive institution, by which the officers and rules of the society are appointed.

So that the church being a society, and religion being that belief upon which the society is founded, the consequence is necessary, that religion can be nothing else but that which is revealed.

I do not speak against morality, or undervalue it; no, by no means; on the contrary, that can be no true religion which goes against morality: religion improves and heightens morality; but morality itself could never carry us to heaven, more than our own natural strength could lift us up to the skies.

Again, I do not take upon me to vindicate all priests; no doubt there have been many wicked of them; (never more than in this age;) and such wicked priests are nowhere more severely reprehended than in scripture: but upon this handle to turn all religion into priestcraft, and to make that craft to be all imposture and villainy, is to place the same character upon Christ himself; for he was a priest, and is so at this day, and for ever. And indeed all these mystical harangues are levelled only at him; for his is the only truly revealed religion, and his priests are the only priests in the world, all others do but falsely bear that name: and therefore to deny priesthood in the general, or set up this commonplace of priestcraft, is downright to destroy Christianity and all religion out of the world.



I will not retort upon these men, that what they call *priestcraft* appears, by their own arguments, to be more laycraft or statecraft; because true religion is neither: and it would serve these antichrists to have it any craft, whereby it might be thought a cheat, and lose its force, and be no longer a yoke (as they think it) upon them.

The true religion (of God's institution) has been corrupted by kings, by priests, by laymen; and, if it were to any purpose to make the comparison, as much or more by laymen, by parliaments, than by the priests themselves.

But it does not seem so direct a blow to religion, as when all is made to be priestcraft; because if that be believed or but suspected, the regard to the office of priesthood is taken away; and consequently religion must infallibly sink with it, for the reasons above told.

It was never known but that the respect and reverence to priests and to religion rise and fell together: they are so inseparably annexed, that the one cannot be without the other.

Wicked and profligate priests cannot be respected as the good and pious are; but this is personal, and touches not the office: where that is brought into contempt, religion must bear it company; it was never otherwise, nor ever can be. And that is the whole design of this modish word *priestcraft*; which, though not pardonable upon the stage, I and others have heard it often from Dr. Burnet in the pulpit, where he acted in lawn or Scotch-cloth sleeves.

I think, of all mankind, such sort of priests, who undermine, who betray, who disgrace religion, are the most vile and contemptible, most nauseous and



loathsome : but that is no more an argument against priesthood, than the devils are against the angelic order in heaven : and there is as much pretence for harangue against angelcraft as against priestcraft.

The ancient prophets, while they inveighed so severely against the corrupt priests of Israel, and our Saviour against the Scribes and Pharisees, yet preserved the reverence due to the office sacred and inviolable. Matt. xxiii. 1, 3, Christ commands his disciples, as well as the multitude, to pay entire submission to them. Heb. v. 4, 5, 6, *No man taketh (that is, ought to take) this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High Priest ; but he that said unto him—Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.*

Was it a glorification even to Christ to be made a Priest ! and how is that most sacred office become (amongst us) contemptible !

It is in veneration to that high character that I expose these cursed priests, latitudinarians and Socinians ; *enemies to the cross of Christ ; the ministers of Satan, transformed into his ministers, as Satan himself into an angel of light ;* and then he is most a devil.

It is a true saying, that the “corruption of the best thing proves the worst.” A corrupt angel is a devil ; and a corrupt priest the next in wickedness to him. False Christs and false prophets are much the greater enemies to Christ, that they come in his name ; as false friends can do much more mischief than open enemies.

Vice is most dangerous when it is recommended under the notion of virtue. Barefaced wickedness,

atheism, and infidelity, create a horror in any mind not thoroughly debauched and hardened; therefore we are cautioned against *the mystery of iniquity*.

And that is it which now worketh in these men, who dispute against any mystery in religion, where it is necessary, and cannot be otherwise, unless we were able clearly and fully to comprehend the whole nature of God; in which there is something which is and ever will be mysterious, that is, dark and hidden, not fully understood by all the angels of heaven to eternity: and yet where there is no necessity in the world, so much as can be pretended, except that of *knavery*, they write all *mystery*, and work underground, that they may not be discovered.

They dwell all in generals, in which, as the proverb says, *dolus latet*, there is always deceit at the bottom: they will not tell plainly what they would be at; but wound sideways, and by stealth, as these authors whom we have examined. And their admired teacher, Dr. Tillotson, in his second Sermon concerning Family Religion, p. 61, gives special caution not to have children bred up in the "*jargon* of any party;" but will not tell what *party* or what *jargon* he means: you may apply it to all, to Christianity itself, (as it was intended,) but so that you shall not fix it upon him; he dwells in the clouds and mysterious politics, more subtle than any of which Aristotle was ever master; whose philosophy the History of Religion takes pains (from p. 74 to 80.) to prove was brought into such estimation by priestcraft, on purpose to advance mystery. Great wits make strange discoveries! it is the bishop's foot in the pot which sings the milk.

Among these mysterious arts of priestcraft there is none moves this author's spleen so much as creeds and rules of faith; against which he vents his indignation: Hist. Rel. p. 64, "In very deed," says he, "creeds were the spiritual revenges of dissenting parties upon one another."

These creeds are strange sort of things! that a man (whatever he believes) may not have liberty openly to profess and preach what likes him best; but must go about the bush and take pains to blaspheme! and that atheists, Socinians, and latitudinarians cannot get in to the preferments of the church without swearing, subscribing, or declaring I know not how many lies; and all to no purpose! for that will never keep them out.

He calls these creeds, p. 115, "the insolent value of opinions;" yet he values his own opinion highly, and would have others to value it above that of the generality of the whole world, in all ages, who have ever retained a great value for religion, and what he blasphemes under the opprobrious "new-made *jargon* of priestcraft." He calls their valuing, an "insolent value." This was to shew his modesty and good-breeding; insolent for any to be positive but himself. He has prescription, and would have the monopoly; he may have the reward of it.

He shews great respect to the Socinians, because they retain nothing of Christianity but the name.

Therefore, in the same page, he falls foul upon St. Athanasius's Creed, knowing that most offensive to the Socinians. And, p. 85, he abuses the Homousians, that is, the Christians, and the whole council of Nice, which, he says, "shewed a spirit of contention, rather than of peace and charity." This



was for their *insolent value* of their faith, so as to express it in a creed. And, p. 116, he thinks to make great advantage to the Socinian cause, by the difference betwixt Dr. Sherlock and Dr. South concerning the Trinity.

But this was only a difference in their *exposition* of what both acknowledged, the “holy and ever-blessed Trinity.”

Whereas I can tell you, sir Positive, (and ask your priestcraft at Lambeth if it be not true,) that the Socinians do differ, not only in their *exposition* of the object of their worship, but in the thing itself; and that not only two doctors, or so, but whole parties and nations of them.

The Brief History of the Unitarians, upon Acts ix. 14, 21, tells us, that the Polonian Unitarians were so zealous for divine worship to be paid to Christ, that they excommunicated, and deposed from their ministry, such of their own party as denied it; which, I think, they generally do in England.

Where likewise they are of most different faiths; though they call themselves Unitarians, and own one another (*in odium tertii*) as Christian brethren.

John Biddle's Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity [printed in the Devil's Reformation of 48, and now reprinted, with other works of his, among volumes of Socinian treatises, which are with great industry distributed gratis since this revolution] owns three persons in the holy Trinity, but makes the second and third persons to be creatures.

The rest of our Socinians (as those that wrote the Brief History of the Unitarians, which is printed in the same volume with Biddle's Confession of



Faith abovesaid) do acknowledge a Trinity, that is, *three in heaven*; but the second and the third, i. e. the Word and the Spirit, they would have to be the very same with the first, that is, the Father.

So that theirs is the only contradiction in the doctrine of the Trinity, who would have *three* to be *three*, and yet all the *three* to be really but *one*. It is they who are out in counting or reckoning, which the Hist. of the Unitarians calls *brutal* in us.

The Christians and Biddleite-Socinians do confess *three in heaven*, whom they acknowledge to be three distinct persons: this is fair and plain reckoning.

But then the Biddleites are guilty of very gross idolatry, in joining two creatures into the same holy Trinity with God.

On the other hand, how is it that these Biddleites, and the other Socinians, do own one another to be of the same faith; and print their books together, as setting forth the same doctrine?

The Trinity of the one is *three*, who are *one person*; (a most palpable contradiction, which no distinction can solve;) the Trinity of the other is *God* and *two creatures*, (which is rank idolatry.) One party of them say, that the Word and Spirit are persons; the other say, not: one, that they are God; the other, that they are not God: one, that they are adorable; the other say, no.

Here are differences, not only concerning the *explanation* of their faith, (as that objected betwixt Dr. Sherlock and Dr. South, and may happen to any of the same faith; as different expositions of a text in scripture does not infer in either a disbelief of the scripture; and different explanations of the

nature of God, which often happens among divines, does not conclude any of them to be atheists;) but this difference among the several sects of Socinians is concerning the very *object* of their faith and worship; those whom one part of them make to be God, the rest of them say are but creatures; than which it is impossible to imagine a greater or more fundamental difference. Yet these are the men who cry out upon mystery! whose faith is flatly contradictory to itself, as these Unitarians stand divided from one another: and if you take the hypothesis of any of their subdivisions by itself, it is nothing but mystery, if by mystery you mean an unintelligible thing.

If three in one *nature* (which is the Christian Trinity) is not fully explicable to us, (though there is something very like it even in human nature, which contains in it several persons,) yet three in one *person* (which is the Socinian Trinity) must be flat contradiction, and has no parallel or image in any created nature.

And two creatures to make up one holy Trinity with God, (which is another Socinian Trinity,) though not so contradictory, is yet more blasphemous.

*Great is the mystery of godliness*: God dwells in light inaccessible, in thick clouds and darkness, (caused by light too strong for our weak senses,) because of the incomprehensibility of his nature, so far exalted above all created understandings.

But the Devil and his Socinian-latitudinarian ministers wrap up the mystery of their iniquity in darkness, lest it should be detected; whose form would be so monstrous, if seen in its own native

colours, as would deter all, but invite none, to enter into the black and dismal regions of error.

But these libertines would fain persuade themselves and others that there is no condemnation for error.

Though our Saviour says, Mark xvi. 16, those who *believe not*, upon the preaching (the sufficient publication) of his gospel, *shall be damned*.

But what is their reason why they should not account for error?

Sir Positive tells, p. 96, because error proceeds from our innocence, that is, says he, our weakness and ignorance.

These are they who accuse the church of Rome, and laugh at them for making ignorance the *mother of their devotion*!

But when ignorance is set up to countenance infidelity and irreligion, then it is all innocence!

They decry all mystery as being a subterfuge for ignorance; and plead their ignorance as an excuse for not believing in mysteries!

But is all ignorance innocence? Why then do these uncharitable pretenders to wisdom seek to rob us of our innocence? why do they say such severe and bloody things against the papists, the Jews, or the heathens, for their ignorance?

But if there be an affected and wilful ignorance, an ignorance that proceeds from our negligence, from our vice; if we spend that time in debauchery or idleness, which, if well employed, would have improved our understandings; if our ignorance proceeds from such causes as these, and therefore will be rather an aggravation than an excuse to us; then can none trust to their ignorance, who have not



been all their lifetime perfectly innocent, and who have not improved every minute to the best advantage of informing their understandings; which since no man in the world can pretend to, and that there is no remedy for mispent time but to employ the remainder more diligently, ignorance will be an excuse for very few of our faults; and it will be very hard to determine which these are.

But it is much easier to guess what they are not: not sins of affectation and pride; for a true sense of our ignorance would make us humble and modest: therefore neither Positives nor Poslings will have any share in this excuse.

Nor sins of ingratitude; because forgetfulness, in that case, is the sin; else Posling's turning his father out of door proceeded from his innocence, that is, his ignorance: however it may serve as a fescue to sir Positive, he having, not long before, assisted in the same sin against a neighbour, who never injured him, and who had done more for him than all the friends and relations he had in the world.

Nor, lastly, in sins of intrigue and design, to circumvent and deceive when we cannot persuade by plain reason; which is the drift of these books, and of all the party: for ignorance cannot be pretended in that case, more than of direct lying; in which their ability are much approved, and have been made use of.

And I believe the sense of what they deserve for this is that which chiefly moves them so zealously against what they call *persecution*, hoping to include within that appellation the just punishments for their crimes; for if all errors are innocence, it would be very hard to punish them; blasphemy,



idolatry, and treason, too, may escape at this rate, for they are but errors.

But this author's proofs against persecution, p. 94, are these; 1. That force does not convince; 2. That the prescriptions of the gospel are all gentle and meek, not force and arms.

I confine my answer to the point of blasphemy, and seeking to turn men away from the worship of God; for these are the errors of which we now dispute. I am far from thinking every error criminal, much less capital; and am as much in my opinion as any body for gentle and persuasive methods as to errors which proceed merely from weakness, and have no malice in them.

But in the present case of blaspheming, and, which is worse, ridiculing of God and of religion, God himself has pronounced it to be death.

Nor would those sons of Belial have escaped it, if they had lived in any Christian country.

Shall the honour of the king be guarded with death, and God be blasphemed *impunè* in print and in the streets?

Has not this propagated atheism to the degree we now see it! not only to pass unpunished, but to be thought a grace in conversation, and the mark of a wit!

*Shall not God visit for these things? Will not his soul be avenged on such a nation as this?*

As to the two foresaid frivolous objections; for the first, that force does not convince—*Ans.* Punishments are inflicted for other ends than converting the criminal, though they often too work that effect, where they meet with minds not thoroughly hardened; they are intended to vindicate the honour

of the government, chiefly of God, the Governor of heaven and earth ; in the next place, to prevent the infection of others, and to deter them from the like.

As to the second objection, that the prescriptions of the gospel are all gentle and meek—*Answ.* That is, as to the preachers, who might not make use of force, nor usurp the sword, which God had committed to the civil magistrate, who *beareth it not in vain, but is a revenger to execute wrath upon them that do evil*, Rom. xiii. 4 ; and that blasphemy is not one of the evils which is within his commission to punish, I believe will not be found in all the gospel ; Christ urged no such thing when he himself was condemned for alleged blasphemy ; but, on the contrary, he confirmed the magistrate's power in that very case, and owned that *it was given him from heaven*, John xix. 11.

Christ commands, *if a man smite us on one cheek, to turn the other ; if a man take our coat, let him have our cloak also* ; and not to avenge an injury done to us. Will any man say that these are rules for judges to go by, in distributing justice betwixt man and man ?

There is no better pretence, from the injunctions of meekness and forgiving of injuries, to conclude against the power of the magistrate in case of blasphemy, or to call this a persecution.

But they are in no fear of the laws at present ; they cry before they are hurt : but they think, by this argument, to raise an odium against kings as well as priests, and to curtail the power of both ; for they are equal enemies to both. There are none of these latitudinarians that are not commonwealth-men ; they are against monarchy in heaven or on

earth; and indeed against all government, if they could tell how; that is, all that is not in their own hands: they cannot bear to be under the discipline of any other. This is the true ground of their quarrel at religion: it is not the mystery of it; that they would not trouble their head with, nor spend their breath to undeceive those fools (as they call them) who believe it; they would not concern themselves at priestcraft, or care if priests wore fools'-caps, so they were not under their correction; it is the law, not the doctrine of Christ, which is grievous to them; they would *break his bands asunder, and cast away his cords from them*, Psalm ii. 3; and they will fly in the face of the civil government, if it tie these faster upon them, or restrain their libertinism in this or in any other instance. Religion enforces and strengthens government, and government protects and encourages religion; therefore both are equally obnoxious to these *filthy dreamers, who defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities—of those things which they know not*, Jude 8, 10: *but what they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves*, ver. 10. *Woe unto them! for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, and perished in the gainsaying of Core*, ver. 11. *Clouds they are without water, carried about of winds; trees whose fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots*, ver. 12; *raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever*, ver. 13.

Is not this a lively description of these men? and



are these men to be tolerated in any government? Will God bless that church or government? Is it a Christian lenity to indulge this sort of men? God commends the church of Ephesus, Rev. ii. 6, because they hated the deeds of the Nicolaitans, (who gave way to the sins of the flesh, though under colour of religion,) *which I also hate*, says God. And he threatens to fight against the church of Pergamos, because they had amongst them those that taught that doctrine, ver. 15; and who held the doctrine of Balaam to cast a stumblingblock, ver. 14, before the people, (and are not these stumblingblocks which I have mentioned out of these men's works?) The church of Thyatira, ver. 20, was condemned for suffering that wicked woman Jezebel to seduce the servants of Christ, who will *spue those out of his mouth*, chap. iii. 16, who have no more zeal for his religion, who are neither hot nor cold, who have a latitudinarian indifferency. Let every man go his own way.

*I would thou wert either cold or hot!* ver. 15. Being perfectly cold, that is, having no religion at all, is preferable to this lukewarm Laodicean temper, to profess the religion of Christ, and be so careless and unconcerned what becomes of it.

The kings of Israel were blamed and severely punished by God for permitting of idolatry; which could not be, if it did not belong to their office to restrain it.

And those kings must be very weak indeed who will be gained by the sometimes servile soothings of these priestcraft men, and not see that all they belch out against the priests is equally levelled against them. They cannot keep it (always) concealed.

Blount bestows his loving glances upon them,



sect. 16. p. 41, where he represents them under the figures of *beasts of rapine, lions, dragons, &c.*; “but for petty princes,” says he, “a fox may be the better emblem.”

And these men, who cry out of persecution, at the same time endeavour to raise all mankind against those whom they hate or fear. They would stir up persecution against those whom they call *persecutors*; that is to say, persecution is only evil when it touches them.

And of all mankind none were more violent persecutors than the Arians, (that is, the Socinians,) when they had the power; who now speak against persecution, because they have not the inflicting of it, yet go in it as far as their power reaches, that is, their wit and malice.

But though the sword of justice be (at present) otherwise employed than to animadvert upon these blasphemers, is the cause of God, is the Christian (not to name the protestant) religion so sunk, that none must oppose, and that boldly and openly, such loud contempt of all that is sacred?

And when the chief and father of them is advanced to the throne of Canterbury, and thence infuses his deadly poison through the nation, preaches it publicly at Whitehall, and gets it printed by *their majesties' special command*, to give it greater countenance and authority; and another colleague of his at Salisbury recommends the same in print to be preached and taught through the diocese which (*indignatione divina*) is committed to his charge; and all the other bishops and clergy of their communion let it pass with at least silent consent:

When the braves of this (at best) theistical juncto

place Dr. Tillotson's name (not only in his private capacity, but as archbishop of Canterbury) in the front of their antichristian harangues in print, and he shews no displeasure in it: and, (to recapitulate a little of what is said before,)

He himself has exceeded them in the barbarous account he has given of the rise and foundation of the Christian religion: they make religion to be the invention of wicked men or of devils; and he improves it, making the Christian religion only a compliance with that wickedness: as before is sufficiently shewn.

When he dares so openly and barefaced attack all revealed religion, as to make it good for nothing but to preserve outward peace in this world; as he does in his Sermon upon Luke ix. 55, which is quoted with magnificence in the Preface to this History of Religion. But that historian himself had the modesty or cunning to leave out those broad words of the doctor's, which I have shewn above, viz. that it were better there had never been any revealed religion; that is, that Christ had never come, than to make uneasiness in the world, and disturb government for it: and though, as I have shewn above, the Christian religion is the greatest security to government, and the outward peace of this world; yet that notion could never have come into the head of a Christian, that we had better never have had any Christ, than that any worldly government should be disturbed.

Nay further, when, as I have shewn above, this doctor makes a mother suckling her own child to be of a more necessary and indispensable obligation than to believe in Christ, that is, "than any posi-

“ tive precept of revealed religion,” (which are his words ;) for the belief of Christ is nothing else but a positive precept of revealed religion :

When he disputes openly against the satisfaction of Christ, and makes all our Thirty-nine Articles, or the belief of any particular church, but the *jar-gon* of a party, and commands all the children of the nation to be bred up loose from any such narrow principles :

When he makes not only the eternity, but the being of a hell, wholly precarious :

And, lastly, when (as I have shewn from Dr. Burnet, licensed by Dr. Tillotson) that Christ is made to be no otherwise God than “ the cloud of glory in the “ temple :”

When such wickedness is set up in our *high places*, shall we not give warning ?

First, to the clergy in these men’s communion, quickly and speedily to separate from them.

I meddle not (here) with the point of schism ; (that stands a dispute by itself ;) but as the 15th canon of the synod of Constantinople, which was omitted in Mr. Hody’s edition of the Baroccian MS., expressly ordains, that if any bishop (though a lawful bishop) do hold heretical opinions, and shall *publicly* teach and preach the same barefaced in the church, all, even the meanest laic, is obliged to separate from such wicked teacher, even before synodical condemnation.

And whether the opinions before told are not, in the grossest manner, heretical ; and whether preaching them at Whitehall, and printing them, be not a public teaching and preaching the same, is left to the judgment of the reader.



And then what an indispensable obligation must lie upon all the clergy (especially) in their communion to separate from them; and, as publicly and openly as they have done, to disclaim, renounce, and confute their damnable heresies! Otherwise the blood of all those souls who shall be infected by them, and of all their posterities whom they shall likewise infect, will be required of every single clergyman, who, but by his silence and continuing in their communion, shall, so far, give countenance to their errors. Silence can never be an excuse in a watchman, whose office it is to cry aloud: and if he blow not the trumpet, he cannot deliver his soul.

And though immediate death attended it, this he ought to do: but there is not that hazard. The government is not concerned in this; it is the common cause of Christianity: and I see no reason but to expect that every such clergyman would be esteemed and valued, even by this government, which would (besides) think it some sort of a vindication of the government from what share it may be supposed they have in the abetting or encouragement of such heterodox principles, preached before them by those in such high place with them, and said to be printed by their special command.

And for the people, such clergy would certainly be greatly regarded by them, as men of conscience, and zeal for their religion.

But if the clergy (which God forbid) should prove so Laodicean as not to think this worth their while, and so leave the imputation to fall upon their whole communion:

Then I must admonish all the godly laity, that they are obliged, in their station, as much as the



clergy in theirs, to separate from such wicked teachers; and that by the above-quoted council of Constantinople they are not to be reputed schismatics for so doing, but as preservers of the unity of the church, whose unity consists chiefly in the unity of their doctrine. But they have a greater authority than that of any council, Gal. i. 8, *Though we, says one of the apostles, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.*

And as all the laity are hereby obliged, under the penalty of sin, to separate from the church communion of these heretical bishops, and of all who communicate with them; so is it likewise required of them to abstain, as much as is possible, even from their private conversation; *with such a one, says St. Paul, not so much as to eat.*

And let them think that these are trying times, sent on purpose to distinguish God's elect from the reprobate; to separate his little flock from the world of iniquity.

*For there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you. 1 Cor. xi. 19.*











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